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HORSMONDEN CHURCH.

WILLARD MEMOIR;

OR,

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LIFE AND TIMES

OF

MAJOR SIMON WILLARD:

WITH

NOTICES OF THREE GENERATIONS OF HIS DESCENDANTS, AND
TWO COLLATERAL BRANCHES IN THE
UNITED STATES;

ALSO

Some Account of the Name and Family in Europe, from an Early Day.

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BY JOSEPH WILLARD.

WITH THREE ENGRAVINGS.

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PHILLIPS, SAMPSON, AND COMPANY,
13, WINTER STREET.
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PREFACE.

THIS work was prepared several years ago, without any definite purpose of publication. Having been urged to publish, I consented so far as to issue a "Circular," addressed to the descendants of Major Simon Willard, and caused it to be very extensively distributed throughout the country, from north to south, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, wherever I knew any of the family to reside. The response was feeble; so much so, that I was about abandoning the project, when a subscription somewhat enlarged, and the pressing request of two or three gentlemen, whose united contribution nearly equalled that of all the other subscribers, induced me to yield my scruples, and consent to publish.

On looking over my manuscript, I found it well to make a thorough revision, and collate all my principal references. This, together with the correction of the press, has occupied just about every moment of leisure from compulsory duties for the last eight months. I make this remark by way of explanation to the subscribers, to assure them that no time has been lost through want of diligence on my part.

It is not possible that a work of this description, containing such a mass of facts and abounding in names and dates, should be free from error. For any errors in my own examinations, I alone, of course, am responsible; but for the statements of others, and for their correctness in names and dates, I cannot vouch, though believing in their substantial accuracy.

The entire volume is the result of my own personal investigations, with only the following exceptions; viz.: 1. The visit to France. 2. The examination of parish registers and other archives in Sussex and Kent in England, and in the Island of Jamaica. 3. Some names and dates in the American genealogy, chiefly in the fourth generation.

My correspondents have been very kind in attending to my inquiries; but their answers, in great measure, concern the fifth and succeeding generations, which do not come within the purview of this volume. I thank them all most heartily, and shall treasure up their communications for use, should I, at some future day, be able to publish a full genealogy; and, if not, whatever they have furnished or may hereafter furnish will be carefully arranged and preserved.

In the earlier generations, it has been my great privilege to be able to impart information to the family, instead of being a recipient. I have found a plentiful lack of knowledge on this subject. Perhaps not one person out of the second branch of the American house, and not many of that branch, could trace, in unbroken line, to Major Willard; and but few could run back to his sons, — their stopping-place, generally, being with the fourth generation; and all of an earlier date, for the most part, a blank. So true is it, that want of curiosity and a neglect of opportunities soon blot out whole

generations from remembrance. I have therefore deemed it very important — though swelling the volume beyond my original purpose — to include the *fourth* generation in the male line; so that all of the present day, bearing the family name, can easily unite themselves in a connected series, through the elder American branches, with Richard Willard, of Horsmonden.

The engraving of the old church — a church which dates back, probably, to the thirteenth century — forms the frontispiece. It is from a beautiful sketch made in England by a friend, whom I am not allowed to name, though to "name him" would be "to praise." The engraving facing page 123 is from a sketch very kindly made by the accomplished wife and daughter of Rev. William M. Smith Marriott, a Christian gentleman, and the worthy Rector of Horsmonden. It is a fine representation of the grand old oak which has flourished for centuries near the church, both of which are fair illustrations of the stability of the English character and institutions. To each and all of them I desire to express my sincere thanks for their great kindness.* The engraving which faces page 80 represents the arms. It is copied from the earliest impression which Mr. Lower has seen, and is considered ancient.

In a preceding page, I have referred to the considerate attentions of my correspondents in answering my inquiries. As what concerns any one of the family concerns all, and as I shall carefully

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* In the body of the work, I have mentioned the valuable services rendered to me by Rev. Mr. Hunter, of London. The extracts from the "Subsidy Rolls," which he furnished, placed me at once on the right track, and saved me from great labor, otherwise unavoidable, and perhaps unprofitable.

arrange and preserve whatever genealogical information I may receive, I would here earnestly invite any and all of the descendants of our common ancestor, whether in the male or the female branches, — more numerous, perhaps, than any other family in the country, — to furnish me, without further request, whatever they may possess in relation to their own line of descent, or any of the collateral lines.

There are those who will be able to answer many of the following questions, and all will be able to contribute something in relation to their own immediate family: —

QUESTIONS.

1. Your name; time and place of birth; place of education; occupation or profession; offices held; marriage, to whom, when, and where; the names and residence of the parents of your wife or husband; whether your wife or husband is living, and, if not, give the time, place, and cause of their death, with their age.

2. Your children; time and place of birth; place of education; occupation or profession; offices held; marriages, to whom, when, and where, with the names and residence of the parents of each wife and husband; time, place, and cause of the death of any of your children. Be particular in naming all the marriages.

3. Your grandchildren. The same questions as in No. 2.

4. Your parents; their names; time and place of birth; place of education and residence; their occupation or profession; offices held; time and place of their marriage; time, place, and cause of death, and age at death.

5. Your brothers and sisters. The same questions as in No. 4.

6. Your grandparents on both sides. The same questions as in No. 4.

7. Your great-grandparents on both sides. The same questions as in No. 4.

8. In mentioning the death, if you cannot give the date of birth, please to give the age at death, if in your power.

9. Give delineations of character, moral and intellectual, especially where the individuals, men or women, have possessed any peculiar, remarkable, or interesting traits; also relate any well-vouched anecdotes tending to illustrate character.

10. Mention any instances of longevity.

11. Please to give the personal appearance of those you may describe, as to stature, good physical development and strength, unusual comeliness of person, &c.

12. Have you portraits of members of your branch of the family in the present or in any preceding generation? If so, of whom? and by whom executed?

13. As all the value of genealogical information depends on its accuracy, please to discriminate with precision between your own personal knowledge, and information derived from other sources; and mark carefully the bounds between what you are satisfied is true history in your branch of the family, and what is tradition having a greater or less degree of probability.

JOSEPH WILLARD.

Boston, September, 1858.

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WILLARD MEMOIR.

WILLARD MEMOIR.

CHAPTER I.

NATIONAL ORIGIN OF THE NAME AND FAMILY.

THIS branch of the general subject will be deemed by some a matter of merely curious speculation. In one sense, it is so, as it tends to no practical results. In a more enlarged view, however, it gathers substantial interest about it, if it produces no fruit. Because the "large discourse, looking before and after," is organic in the intellectual nature of man, he endeavors to connect himself with the dim and mysterious old centuries in his name and lineage. He would fain lift the veil that separates him from the past, and claim kindred with other generations whose blood courses in his veins. Believing that this is natural, I offer no apology for the following investigation.

With such researches as I have been able to make, I do not profess to have exhausted all sources of inquiry, or to have arrived at conclusions which will be satisfactory to all, if even to myself. While setting down whatever I have been able to obtain, I am well aware how imperfect is the result. Larger opportunities might have afforded more satisfaction; but what little is now accomplished may be the means of more assured success in future inquiries undertaken by myself or others under more favorable auspices.

Is the family of Keltic or Teutonic * origin? I propose to discuss this point very briefly. Traditions in relation to race, whether more or less distinct, are not to be disregarded, unless they contradict the clear teachings of history; and where history is silent, or gives an uncertain answer, they are entitled to no little weight, especially if they are concurrent in distinct branches of the same race.

There is a tradition in some of the branches of the American house, at least, that the family was of French extraction. The late Colonel John H. Willard, of Eastbourne in Sussex, had this tradition, and seems to have stated to Burke, the author of the "Armory," that his ancestors were from Caen in Normandy; but the gentleman who gave Colonel Willard the genealogy of his line, in pretty regular sequence, from William Wyllard of Haylesham in Sussex, in the reign of Edward III., down to the present century, convinced him that he was in error in supposing that his ancestors were from Caen.† But, if they were from Caen, it does not follow, as we shall see in the sequel, that the *stirps* was French. At the time of William the Conqueror, the Normans had been settled in France for more than a century, and in large numbers. They came in through blood and slaughter, and were soon firmly seated in Normandy; but they came as conquerors, and it was long before intermarriages melted down the distinctions of race.

The same tradition exists among the descendants of the German Willards, a family that came to America in 1746, and whose members are numerous in Maryland and elsewhere. "According to these traditions," says my Maryland

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* Some writers use Gothic or Scythian as the generic word; but, following Palgrave, vol. i. p. 39, the Teutones were the root; and the Goths, Alemanni, and Belgæ, the branches. Thus used, the Teutons would include Ancient Scandinavia, Ancient Germany, the Netherlands, Holland, &c.

† Letter of Mr. Mark Antony Lower, of Lewes in Sussex. Mr. Lower has paid great attention to genealogical investigations; and his opinions are entitled to great weight. He is the author of a work on "Surnames," and of another entitled "The Curiosities of Heraldry."

correspondent,* "my family is of French origin; it having flourished in opulence in France, immemorially, to the time of the persecutions. Having escaped the dreadful massacres then and there perpetrated, it found safety in Germany, where, for a century and a half, it remained, and intermarried with the natives. Tradition also affirms, that the celebrated Admiral Coligny, an influential leader of those times, was of our house."

In a subsequent letter he says, "I have found it to be the universal and settled belief in all those families with whom I have had intercourse, as well as with those individuals who, as mere acquaintances of my grandfather (Elias Willard), heard him converse upon such topics, that my progenitor, about whom tradition speaks to us, was verily of French extraction, and fled from home and country before the malignant intolerance of that faith which persecuted unto death. There is a story extant concerning him, how he first saw a Bible in an inn, and was enraptured with its contents; how he desired to purchase it, and, failing, tarried there upon his journey several days and nights, meanwhile poring with rapt interest upon its pages; how, at last, he fell under the suspicion of Popish emissaries, and was marked for destruction; that he was even insnared, yet escaped through the secret assistance of friends, and ultimately found safety in Germany. It is impossible to designate the period at which these events transpired; but, from all I have heard, I think it probable that it borders on the era memorized by the massacre of St. Bartholomew" [1572].

Passing by this tradition for the present, a similar one may be mentioned as prevailing to some extent among the descendants of the subject of this Memoir, but never as connected with any circumstance of time or place. It is likely to be the same that is held by the Eastbourne family, and entitled to no more regard.

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* Dr. James Willard, a highly intelligent gentleman, residing in Jefferson, Frederic County. His grandfather, Elias Willard, was born in Germany in 1734, and died in Maryland in 1819.

The fact that England was peopled by many different tribes may render genealogical inquiries more difficult there than on the continent of Western Europe, where the two races that spread over it have always been distinctly marked and separated. Another difficulty, which is insuperable, arises from the entire absence of surnames until about the time of the Conquest. Some few may be found a little earlier, in the time of Edward the Confessor; but none, I think, before his reign. As the most ancient are local, designating residence, not family name, the inquirer finds himself at once at fault. Families have their surnames from places, not places from families: indeed it has been stated, that there is not a town, village, or hamlet, which has not given a name to some family. "Every person possessed of a local name cannot from thence conclude, that his ancestors were either lords or possessors of such a place; but this he may be certain of, that they were either born there, or came originally from it." *

With this fact in view, all that can be done, in the early period before the Norman invasion of England, is to set down Saxon names of places resembling more or less the name of WILLARD, and Saxon names of persons, at a later point of time, bearing the same resemblance. This will tend to establish a Teutonic instead of a Keltic origin. A recent writer, Mr. McFarlane, in speaking of the Saxons as "a hardy race of men," adds that they "were the fountain source of at least nine-tenths of the blood that flows in the large and generous vein of the English nation." † This, indeed, is a broad statement, considering the various races that have successively occupied England, — Kimmerian, Keltic, Belgic, Roman, Anglo-Saxon, Danish, and Norman; but it is substantially true. Saxon blood largely predominates.

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* Introduction to the Description of Great Britain, edition of 1720, pp. 58–61.

† Pictorial History of England, vol. i. p. 365.

SAXON NAMES OF PLACES.

WYLERDSLEY, "P.ōch. Ec. de Wyldersley," Hereford County; or,
WILLERSLEY, parish of, hundred of Stretford, county of Hereford, deanery of Weobly; valuation, £3. 6s. 8d. Living, a discharged rectory (that is, discharged from the payment of first-fruits), in the archdeaconry and diocese of Hereford. Valued in K. B. (King's Books), £8. 16s. 8d. Annual valuation, P. R. (Parliamentary Returns), £33. Ch. ded. (Church dedicated) to St. Mary Magdalen. Patrons, the representatives of the late John Freeman, Esq. — GORTON. The latter, "Willersley," according to Johnston, is the reading at the present day.

WILLERSLEY, county of Gloucester, parish in the upper division, hundred of Kiftsgate. Living, a rectory in the archdeaconry and diocese of Gloucester. — GORTON.

WYLLARSEYE,* same as preceding. So spelt in "Inquisitiones Nonarum," p. 413; namely, "P.ōch. Ecc. de Wyllarsey, taxat. 10 marks."

WYLLARDSEYE.* So spelt in Rudge's "History of Gloucester," art. "Willerseye," vol. i. p. 43. The taxation of Pope Nicholas, of the Church of Wyllardseye, A.D. 1291, was £6. 13s. 4d. — *Ibid.*

WILLADESBY, York. Calendar of "Inquisitiones post Mortem," vol. i. p. 191.†

WILLARDBY, *ibid.* p. 74 (10 Edw. I.), was one of the feod., appertaining to the manor of Cotingham, York. In vol. iii. p. 55, it is placed "juxta Cotingham." See also vol. iii. pp. 99, 212, 268. The orthography of this name has been changed in modern times.

WILLARDEBY, WILLARDESHAM, and WILLARDESTONE. — *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 181, 139, 116.

WILLARSTONE, manor in Oxon and Bucks, 56 Hen. III. — *Ibid.* p. 39.

WILLARDESBY. — *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 353.

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* Johnston spells it "Willersey."

† This "Inquisitio" was a writ brought to ascertain what lands a tenant *in capite* died seized of; as a tax or relief was due to the king on the death of the tenant, and to be paid before the heir was entitled to *livery of seizin* of the inheritance.

WILLERBY, East Riding, county of York, parish and township, wapentake of Dickering. — GORTON.

WILLERBY, York, East Riding; a township, partly in the parish of Cottingham, and partly in that of Kirk Ella, partly in the county of the town of Kingston upon Hull, and partly in Hunsley Beacon. — GORTON.

These last two localities are the same as Willardby, *ante*.

WYLLARDESHOP, in Northumberland, 1214, 15 John. A royal order was issued to the sheriff of Northumberland to deliver to Hugo de Bolebec, "saisinam de t'ra (terra) sua de Wyllardeshop." — *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum* [*Close Rolls*], p. 150.

SAXON NAMES OF PERSONS.

WLWARD, MARTIN. — In 1199, 1 John, at Westminster. Concord between Martin Wlward, tenant, and "Absolonē, fil. Apsolonis, petentem" (demandant). — *Finales Concordiæ* in Curia Domini Regis*, vol. i. p. 280; title, "Cambridgeshire" (fragmentary).

WLUUARD, MARTIN, and Marjorie his wife, and Ellota Cholle, tenants, and Emma Cholle, demandant of certain lands in Cambridge, viz., half of a messuage, &c. 1207, 8 John, at Westminster. — *Ibid.* p. 316.

WLUARD, WLUUARD. — In Domesday Book many of the name are mentioned as holding lands† in the time of Edward the Confessor, and afterwards until the time of the survey by the Conqueror. Some of them were thanes or barons in the time of Edward. See list of names in Index, vol. ii.‡

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* The "Fine," derived from the civil law, was an amicable suit for the conveyance or transfer of land. After the suit was in court, the parties entered into a composition or concord, which became a matter of record, and was of equal validity with a judgment of court in passing the title from one party to the other.

† In the counties of Gloucester, Kent, Hants, Hereford, Buckingham, Wilts, Dorset, Lincoln, and Essex. At the time of the survey, the name is found in Cornwall and Somerset.

‡ There occur the names Michael Woolward in the reign of Edward I., and John Woolward in the reign of Edward II. — *Parliamentary Writs*, vol. i. The name Woolard is found, about the year 1700, in Essex. — *Morant's History of Essex*, vol. ii. pp. 71, 85.

Wluardus, Wluuardus. — These names with the Latin termination are found in "Exon Domesday," in the time of William the Conqueror. This is the record preserved at Exeter, containing a description of the counties of Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall. Sir Henry Ellis expresses the opinion that it was copied from the same rolls from which the first volume of the great Domesday Book was compiled.

Wyllardbir, Thos. de, 1214, 15 John. An order was issued by the king to deliver to Thos. de Wyllardbir a certain ship, "cum toto attilio, &c." [i.e., tackle, furniture, apparel, &c.]. — *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum* [*Close Rolls*], vol. i. p. 148.

Willardeb., Thomas de, and Robert de Waton, merchants. In the year 1200, they paid a fine to the king for the privilege of bringing a suit to recover certain property. The summons for the defendants was delivered to a constable of Hastings, in Sussex. — *Fine Rolls*, p. 47. This was before the Great Charter of King John, which forbade the sale, denial, or delay of justice or right.

Willardsey, Robert, in 1424. In Dugdale's "Antiquities of Warwickshire," pp. 464–6, it appears that St. Nicholas' Church is situate in the city of Warwick, on the south side of the river Avon, hundred of Kineton, and county of Warwick. That church was founded a little before or after the Conquest, and at first had three rectors. In 41 Edw. III., it was served by two priests; but, their salaries not being regularly paid by the Collegiate Church, it became, in 22 Rich. II., united thereto. Tideman, the Bishop of Worcester, 15th June, 1401 (2 and 3 Hen. IV.), "ordained a vicarage there, assigning to it an annual rent of sixteen marks, besides oblations."

Robert Willardsey was the first vicar of St. Nicholas, and was presented by the Dean and Chapter of the Collegiate Church in Warwick. The presentation and institution of Willardsey probably took place the same year (1401). Simon Oldenhale succeeded him in 1425. Among the "monumental inscriptions" in the Church of St. Nicholas is the following, viz., on flat stones, the portraiture of a priest in brass; and, under it, —

"Hic jacet Robert Willardsey, prim. (primus) vicari. (vicarius) isti. (istius) ecclesie (æ), qui obiit die mens. (mensis) Martii, anno dni. (Domini) mill. (mille) CCCCXXIIII. cujus anime (æ) propicietur Deus. Amen."

The advowson of this church, on the dissolution of the Collegiate Church, 15th May, 37 Hen. VIII., was granted by the king to the burgesses of Warwick, and their successors; "for so were the inhabitants then styled."

My late valued friend, John Farmer, Esq., who first called my attention to this name in Dugdale, remarked, "This name is probably a composed one, like Whittlesey, Bernardsey, Edmundsey, &c.; and is the nearest approximation to the name of Willard which I have ever found in the examination of many thousands of English and Scotch names. I think your future researches will discover some parish or village in England of the name of Willardsey, and perhaps of Willard. It is really noticeable to find so large a number of parishes having the same names of persons."

Mr. Lower, whose suggestions in these matters are of weight, remarks that "Willardsey is distinct, as a surname, from Willard;" — that it is pretty certain, that, first, "Wielardus, or rather, Wielard, is a Saxon forename; and that, by consequence, —

> "Wylerdsley denotes the ley or field (leye) of Willard;
> Wyllardsey, the island (ey) of Willard;
> Willardby, the house (by) of Willard;
> Willardesham, the home or mansion (ham) of Willard;
> Willardestone, the stone (stan) of Willard.

And it must not be imagined that all those places owe their foundation to one person, as the name must have been common to many. Secondly, As forenames became, at length, the surnames of descendants, we have *no* reason to believe all the Willards in England and the United States to be of a common origin; and the fact of the name occurring in several counties, remote from each other at an early date, shows that there was no common stock from which all descended; but that each originated, in its own locality, from its own peculiar Wielard." *

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* Letter, Oct. 1, 1844.

Mr. Hunter remarks that "the chief use to be made of the names of *places*, into which the name of Willard enters, is to render it probable that the name is in fact the Saxon name Wluard, written in various orthographies, since there is a large class of names of places in England which are made up of one of the old Saxon names of persons in union with such words as *ley*, *ton*, *ham*, and the like."* Unless Wluard or Wluuard can be identified with Willard, the latter name cannot be found, in any of its orthographies, among those who held lands in the time of Edward the Confessor.†

But, leaving the period of the Saxon rule in England, we come down to the time of the Conquest. At this point, there are found in Domesday Book the Latin names Wielardus and Wilard[9] [Wilardus] in connection with the tenancy of certain land, as will be described in a subsequent page. This was after the origin of surnames in England, at a time when they were considerably prevalent, though far from being generally introduced. And here it may be remarked, that the family was certainly established in England as early as the reign of William the Conqueror. If any of the name came over with William, as most probably they did, they may have been Norman-French, though not necessarily so. They were, I think, and as I have before stated, of general Teutonic and not Keltic descent. If

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* Letter of Rev. Joseph Hunter, London, Oct. 1, 1844. This gentleman is no less distinguished for his antiquarian lore than for the readiness with which he imparts his treasures to all who seek them in good faith. I am indebted to him for much valuable information.

† Perhaps this should be stated with a qualification. In "Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk," according to Sir Henry Ellis, "*tenet* and *tenuit* are expressed but by one contraction, and *tenet* is frequently used at length for *tenuit*;" but this does not hold universally even in those counties. There is no such confusion under the entries of Wielardus, *post*, where the past time is clearly designated by reference to the time of the Confessor, and the present by the adverb *modo*.

French, it may be added, the name would have been Villard; there being no letter W in the French alphabet. I am not aware that the German Willards of Maryland have taken into consideration, that the truth of this idea would involve a necessary change in the initial letter, or that they have any theory with regard to it. As their tradition dates back to the middle of the last century, it may be supposed that the historic point in the sixteenth century is so recent as to give an air of probability to the tradition. While it would be very natural, indeed almost necessary, that any one of the Willard *gens*, taking up his residence in France, would have his name written and pronounced Villard by his new neighbors, and his descendants would be so called in their generations, the supposition is absurd, that, if he were a native of France, and removed to Germany or England, or any other country, in whose alphabet there are both letters, the initial V should be changed to W.

This might settle the question as to France Proper, but not as to the inhabitants of Normandy, who, as before remarked, were principally Normans in the eleventh century, and generic Goths, having W. as a radical letter in their language. Villard is a name probably unknown in England, or, if known there, might be traced to France for its ancestral home.*

Whether the name, if ever found in Old Normandy, still exists there, may admit of question. A few years ago, one of the American family, established at Douai, in pursuance of my request "made very frequent inquiries, but could find no trace of this name or of any analogous name in France, — neither Willard nor Villard, nor any thing like it; and was quite confident that it does not exist in

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* One of this name, R. H. Villard, resided in Georgetown, district of Columbia, in 1826. (National Journal, March 11, 1826.) M. le Veillard is spoken of by Dr. Franklin in his Familiar Letters, p. 198, May, 1785. M. Vieillard, French consul for China, is much praised by the agent of the first American ship that made a voyage to China. (Life of John Jay, vol. i. p. 192.) M. Villard is one of the present Napoleon's senators. Indeed the name is not infrequent in France.

Normandy, Picardy, or any of the adjoining ancient provinces." *

The Battle Abbey Roll embraces a long list of William's followers, some of whom have one or the other of these initials. So far as I am able to state, these names have undergone no change in this respect for eight centuries.

If the name is to be considered as first found in England at the time of the Conquest, and among the followers of William, it by no means follows that it is of Norman-French extraction; nor does it raise a strong presumption of that fact.

We are too apt to think that there was but little communication and intercourse between the different nations of Western Europe at this period. This is measurably true of those nations, and parts of nations, living remote from the coast; but it was far otherwise with those whose dwellings were near the great seas, or upon their tributary waters. These people, even at an earlier day, whether for commerce or distant predatory expeditions, were so familiar with ocean-life, that it is scarcely a figure to say that they had their home upon the deep. Saxon, Dane, and Norman, a numerous host, in their light skiffs braved the dangers of the tempestuous Northern Ocean, and rejoiced in stormy wind and tumultuous wave as insuring greater secrecy in their sudden attacks, whether on the shores of Western Europe or of the sunny Mediterranean.

It is an equal error to suppose that William's followers were confined to his own subjects. They came from many countries accessible to Normandy by sea or land. He published his ban of war in all the neighboring coun-

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* Rev. Erastus Willard, who is at the head of the American Baptist Mission at Douai. I am under obligation to this gentleman for the inquiries he has made. It will be seen, however, by the preceding note, that Villard is far from being an uncommon name in France. No inquiries were made at Caen. Willard, or Ouillard, may yet be found in Normandy.

In 1850 there was a M. Huillard residing at Argences, in the canton of Caen. (*Annuelle général du Commerce et de l' Industrie.*) This name, if transplanted, would become Willard, I suppose.

tries, and multitudes flocked in from all quarters. "Some," says Thierry,* "arrived from the province of Maine and from Anjou, from Poitou and from Brittany, from France and from Flanders,† from Aquitaine and from Burgundy, from Piedmont and from the banks of the Rhine. All the adventurers by profession, all the outcasts of Western Europe, came eagerly and by forced marches. Some were cavaliers or warlike chiefs: others were simply foot-soldiers and serjeants-at-arms, as they were then called."

So, two years afterwards (in the year 1068), he invited fresh adventurers and soldiers of fortune from nearly every country in Europe.‡ Among those who were with William was a numerous band of Flemish auxiliaries; and probably fresh auxiliaries continued to flow into the country during the seven years of hard fighting that intervened before the brave Saxons were finally subdued. The Wielardus and Wilardus of Domesday Book may have been among these Flemish auxiliaries. Flanders had a large extent of country bordering upon the North Sea; and, in other parts, communicated with the sea by the river Scheldt, and its tributary waters. The people had for centuries engaged largely in commerce, and were of a bold and enterprising spirit. These were the very men, in the rude manners, the love of adventure, and the greediness for spoil, characteristic of that age, — an age but just emerging from the pursuit of piracy as rather a legitimate business, — to engage in an undertaking that might deliver a kingdom into their hands. And, besides these Flemish auxiliaries, there were other Flemings, peaceable men, "skilled in the business of making cloth and in that of merchandise," who settled in England later in William's reign; and still others, who came over

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* History of the Norman Conquest, vol. i. These were the graceless people among whom William divided the lands of England. Thierry's account of this wholesale plunder is full and graphic.

† Not the least numerous troops were the Flemish, under Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, and father-in-law of William.

‡ Pictorial History of England, vol. i. p. 356.

early in the twelfth century, in the reign of Henry I. In a subsequent page, we shall find two Flemish Willards, commanders of two merchant vessels; viz., Egidius (Giles) Wyllard in 1378,* and Miquiel Wyllard in 1417 or 1418. "Ex uno disce omnes." It may be inferred, with some probability, that there were others of the name in Flanders, besides these two captains; and, as population at this time bore a more settled character than in the days of Saxon, Danish, and Norman piracies, it may further be inferred, that the family did not then appear for the first time on Flemish ground.

From Flanders we are naturally led to other territory, not remote, whence William gathered a portion of his forces, as history informs us: the country, which at the time of the Conquest was a part of Germany, lying partly upon the Meurthe and Moselle, and partly on the Rhine; and all of which was of easy access to the North Sea. I refer to the Lower Lorraine and Alsace, now a part of France. Lorraine was formerly a fief of the German empire. For several centuries, it was a subject of dispute between France and Germany, and was finally united to the former kingdom in the last century. The department of Meurthe, of which Nancy is the capital, constitutes a part of the old province of the Lower Lorraine. The present inhabitants are of German origin, and the German language is spoken there as well as the French.

Alsace was an old German duchy, having Strasbourg for its capital. A portion of it was ceded to France in 1648; and, by the peace of Ryswick in 1697, its capital, Strasbourg,† with all the territory on the left bank of the Rhine occupied by the French troops, was ceded to France. Alsace now constitutes the French department of the Upper

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* At this time, as well as at an earlier period, there was close intercourse between the two countries. (Pict. Hist. vol. i. p. 757.) The numerous Flemings settled in England were both the cause and consequence of this intimacy.

† Strasbourg was taken by Louis XIV. in 1681.

and Lower Rhine. The inhabitants continue to speak German.

Lorraine communicated with the North Sea by the river Moselle, and Alsace by the Rhine; while a more direct course to Normandy led overland through the north of France. Possibly the Domesday Book Willards may be sought from the Lower Lorraine or from Alsace.

I have no direct evidence that the Willards were there in the eleventh century; but it will appear in the sequel, that the name is found there now.

Good old Thomas Fuller, in his curious tractate upon the "Roll of Battel Abbey" names, drawn from different sources, — after remarking upon William's followers, gathered from every quarter, that some of them were noble in their native country, Normandy, while others suddenly started up honorable from mean originals, — adds that "names coming over with the Conquest, beginning with W, were not out of France, but the *vicinage* thereof. When we find it, therefore, the initial of a name, whereof many occur, &c., it argueth the same Walloon or Almain.* Yea, I am credibly informed, that some of the English here, wearied with Harold's usurpation, fled over into Normandy to fetch in the Conqueror; so that, when King William entered, they returned into England." †

There is great weight in the authority of ancient Thomas Fuller; and it strongly corroborates the view taken in this chapter, excluding France, and pointing to countries in the *vicinage* of France — to Flanders or Germany — as a probable abiding-place of the *gens* in remote centuries.

The residence of the ancestors of the Willards of Maryland in Germany for several centuries would seem to be well

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* Flemish or German.

† The Church History of Britain, endeavoured by Thomas Fuller, pp. 152–3, edit. 1655. No one of the Rolls is wholly reliable: no published copy dates back earlier than the fifteenth century. According to Sir Henry Ellis, in his Introduction to Domesday Book, Wace's Roll, which is in manuscript in the British Museum, is perhaps the oldest list, now extant, of the warriors who fought at Hastings.

established as an historical fact, whatever may be thought of their old tradition; while perhaps the tradition itself may find a not improbable solution in their residence in Lorraine or Alsace, previous to being forced to take up their abode in Germany Proper.

That part of Germany from which they emigrated to America, my correspondent * "could not ascertain; but," he added, "the village or section of country has been rendered Upper Mallingea, Palts.† The brothers and sister who came over constituted an entire family, and, consequently, left none behind them in the place from which they emigrated." If the tradition be well founded, that they came from "Upper Mallingea, Palts," although we may not be able to find any such village, it may be reasonably concluded that we can accurately designate the district or part of Germany from which they came. They came from the Palts (German, Pfalz); that is, from the Palatinate, an old division in Germany. It was divided into the Upper and Lower Palatinate; the Upper bordering on ancient Bohemia and Bavaria, with Amberg in Bavaria for its old capital. All of the Upper and part of the Lower Palatinate are now incorporated with Bavaria.

The Lower Palatinate, or Palatinate of the Rhine, was situated on both sides of the Rhine: chief towns, — Manheim, Heidelberg, Simmern, and Deux Ponts. That part of the Lower Palatinate which has not been incorporated with Bavaria is divided among the states of Rhenish Prussia (with Cologne for its capital, and having also Coblentz, Bonn, Dusseldorf, and Wesel, towns on the Rhine, within their limits), Baden, and Hessen Darmstadt. The whole

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* Dr. James Willard.

† A German friend has given me Upper and Lower Mending [Ober und Unter Mending] as the nearest name he can find. They are in the south part of the archbishopric of Cologne, near Andernach on the Rhine, formerly in the electoral palatinate, now Rhenish Prussia. I have not been able to find Mallingea. The nearest in orthography is Mellingen, in Switzerland, one mile south of Baden, canton Argau; and Melsangen, a town in Hesse Cassel.

Palatinate, beginning on the west side of the Rhine, and having an area exceeding one-half of that of Massachusetts, extended easterly, in an irregular form, into old Bavaria. I cannot at this time satisfactorily state from which division of the Palatinate they migrated; but as the Lower embraced the country upon the Rhine, and was the nearest to France (in some parts of it), lying northerly and north-easterly from Alsace and Lorraine, it would seem probable that to the Lower Palatinate we must look for the German locality of the Maryland Willards before they came to America.

The authorities, thus far, seem substantially concurrent, negativing a French origin; and they are further strengthened by more recent investigations. One of the American family,* every way competent, and of an investigating spirit, in two visits to Europe, took pains, according to his opportunities, to institute inquiries in this matter. In what remains on this head, I shall have occasion to quote several passages from his letters. While in France, he met with several of the name, and arrived at certain definite results that have strengthened me in my own conclusions.

Being at Strasbourg in the spring of 1851, he saw the sign, "Commerce de J. Willard." This was "Joseph Willard, a very humdrum Frenchman, a native of Obernai † in France. He stated that his father was a native of Felvillen in France, and that his ancestors had lived, from father to son (*de père en fils*), in the neighborhood of Strasbourg for more than a hundred years: beyond that, he could not tell." He supposed his family had always been French; but, when encountered by his American inquirer with the

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* Hon. John Dwight Willard, of Troy, N. Y. He travelled extensively in Europe in 1850–1, and again in 1855–6. I have his permission to make free use of his letters. While in England, he continued the researches which I had caused to be made a few years before his first visit, and has made valuable additions to my stock of Old-World materials. To the sentiment of near kin he adds the valued one of friend.

† About twelve miles south-west of Strasbourg, in the same department, and a part of old Alsace.

remark that W was not a French letter, " he replied that he had not thought of that. He said there are no other Willards in Strasbourg; that there are other Willards in France, and in that department, who are not connected with his family, but that the name is not very common."

This man took no interest in the speculations of my friend, but asked why it was that he inquired *après le nom Willard.* No explanation was of any service. He could not imagine that the apparent motive of inquiry was the real one; but, as some of his old neighbors, his debtors, had gone to America, he seemed possessed with some vague idea that this visit was connected with their indebtedness.*

Passing from Strasbourg on his way to Paris, my friend and correspondent spent a day in the interesting city of Nancy, in the department of Meurthe; and there met with the name of a Monsieur Willard,† an officer of government in that department. Unfortunately, this gentleman was not in the city, and there was no opportunity of making his acquaintance.

In pursuance of this mention, and presuming from his public function and consideration that I might gain valuable information from this gentleman, I wrote to him, in the fall of 1853, through the French consulate, and, under cover and introduction, to our minister at Paris; but, receiving no

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* In the French " Annuelle du Commerce et de l'Industrie," 1850, p. 1655, there is the following entry under Strasbourg; viz., " Mousselines, linons, batistes, percales. Willard et Forrest." I suppose this Willard to be the " humdrum Frenchman " mentioned in the text.

† In the " Annuelle " mentioned in the preceding note, p. 1535, under the head of " Administratif et Judiciarc," the name of this gentleman occurs as " Directeur de l'Enregistrement de Domaines," in the department of Meurthe. He is the superintendent of the public lands, and chief officer in the registry of judicial and notarial instruments. The latter office furnishes an important part of the national revenue. The same officer has charge of all the stamped paper on which instruments are required to be written.

" Ces fonctions sont très honorables et recherchées, bien que modestement retribuées, comme tous les agents publics en France. Dans l'ordre hiérarchique, celle de ' Directeur ' est la plus élevée." — *Letter of Monsieur Souchard, of the French Consulate, Boston.*

answer, I again wrote in March following, and again was unsuccessful. His silence was mysterious to me, until I was pained to learn that it was the silence of the grave. Mr. J. D. Willard, on his second visit to Nancy in the spring of 1856, called on the family, and was courteously received by Mrs. Willard and her daughter. "They are persons of refined manners. Mons. Charles Herbert Willard, the husband and father, was born at Besançon* in 1786, which place he left at twenty years of age. He spent ten years in Italy, and, for the last eighteen years of his life, resided in Nancy. He was an only son. He had no cousins. He left two daughters,† but no son. His father was a resident of Besançon." They have no ancestral traditions.

"The family has always been French, as far as they know or have heard;‡ but the daughter alluded to the fact that W is not a French letter, as giving ground for a possible doubt on that point."

At Chamouni, Mr. J. D. Willard heard of three gentlemen of the name of Willard, and two ladies (with their waiting-maid), who had been there the year before, and who resided a part of the year in Paris, and part in the country.

At Lyons he called on M. Villard, of Paris and Lyons. This gentleman knew none of the family who spelt their name with W. His own family, so far as he knew, was always French.

In Rome, March, 1856, he called upon "Mons. and

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* Besançon is in the easterly part of France, in the department bordering on Switzerland. It was the capital of old "Franche Comté," or Upper Burgundy. In the division of the Emperor Maximilian's estates, it fell to Spain; and, in 1674, was conquered by Louis XIV., and united to France by the treaty of Nimeguen in 1678.

† The daughter whom Mr. J. D. Willard saw is the wife of Mr. Charles Thomas, "Vérificateur des Domaines," as his father-in-law was "Directeur de l'Enregistrement des Domaines." This office is next in rank to that of "Directeur."

‡ Having no account and no tradition of their ancestors, their suggestion of a French origin has no weight.

Madame Willard, of France." This M. Willard stated that he was a native of Lixheim* in France, but for the last seven years had been a resident of Paris; that his father also was born in Lixheim; and that his grandfather came from Germany, — near Frankfort,† he thought. He knew many other persons of the same name; but that, with the exception of his own family, Mr. J. D. Willard was the first he had ever met who spelt the name as he does. The other spellings were "Willars, Villard, Vilard." There is no question of *his* German descent; but he seems to confound two names that are radically different. He is a manufacturer,‡ having establishments at Paris and Algiers.

In reviewing what has been briefly written, the conclusion is easy, — that the current of authority excludes a Keltic, and establishes a Teutonic origin. And then, coming down to the branches of the Teutonic race, it may be asserted with a good degree of certainty, — first, That the name of Willard was an Anglo-Saxon name of *place* before the Conquest, and became a surname when surnames were introduced, with a forename for each individual; but the residents were not necessarily connected in blood. Second, That others of the name came over in the train of the Conqueror; while still others remained behind, in Alsace perhaps, or Lorraine or Flanders,§ if not in Normandy

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* Lixheim is a commune and town in the department of Meurthe, part of the old province of Lorraine, six miles north-east of Sarrebourg. It is some thirty-five miles from the Rhine and from Strasbourg, and about forty miles north-east of Nancy, in the same department.

† This is Frankfort on the Main, in Germany, about one hundred and thirty miles north-east of Lixheim, and only about twenty miles above the junction of the Main with the Rhine. It is a famous old city, chiefly Lutheran, and is entirely in the general valley of the Rhine.

‡ Of "boutons et passementerie." Mr. J. D. Willard afterwards called upon the manufacturer in Paris, but derived no further information from him about the family.

§ French Flanders, now a part of the departments of the North. Even to the present day, the designation of communal institutions are the same as in Belgic Flanders. These, with municipal customs and the forms of civil and industrial associations, mark the German origin. — *Thierry's Report to the Minister of Public Instruction*, 1837; *introductory to the "Documents introductoire sur l'Histoire de France."*

itself, — all through the general valley of the Rhine and its tributaries, and on the shores of the North Sea. At the same time, the tradition I have spoken of may perhaps be fairly interpreted in the light of history, and both be reconciled, and the present orthography be justified by referring the family either to the old German duchy of Alsace, or to Lorraine, its neighbor, so long a fief of the German empire, and so long a subject of dispute between France and Germany.* In both, the German traits are still strongly marked, and the German language extensively spoken. Strasbourg, Nancy, and Lixheim, at the present day, to say nothing of Besançon and Frankfort, tend to the same result in the speculation of name and origin.

With these remarks upon the question of national origin in the elder day, I close all that I purposed saying upon the subject. It is certainly of curious inquiry, and of interest to all who have any pride or preference in the race from which they are descended. With greater means at command, the investigation might have been more searching, and the result more entirely successful.

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* I am strengthened in this result by the opinion of Mr. J. D. Willard, who says, "The tradition that our family emigrated to England from France may *possibly* be explained by supposing that they originated from that section of country which is France, and has been so for the last hundred and sixty years, though it was Germany at the time our ancestors left it."

The celebrated noble family of Guise, a branch of the house of Lorraine, became identified with France early in the sixteenth century; and, from that period, France had more interest in Lorraine, and bore greater sway there, than did Germany Thus it gradually became French, while nominally attached to the empire.

CHAPTER II.

THE NAME IN SUSSEX AND KENT, FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE PRESENT DAY.

I PASS on to the time when we find the Willard *gens* fully established in England in the reign of William the Conqueror. Under this head, I propose to trace the name in various localities, but chiefly in Sussex and Kent, from the time of the Conquest until the present day. In addition to the printed works which I have consulted, my authorities are the results of various examinations which I have caused to be made in public registers. The following names constitute but a small part of the whole, even in the places designated; while there are other places in these counties, residences of various branches of the family, which have not been searched. In the multitude of similar Christian names, there is always perplexity. The most determined inquirer is often baffled; and while he seems to be approaching some great discovery, some real demonstration of the truth, he is kept in a state of suspense by a host of doubts and questions, through which he reaches no safe genealogical conclusions, but drifts here and there on a wide and uncertain sea.

The first entries are taken from Domesday Book, and many of those which follow are extracted from the succeeding volumes published by the Records Commission. All these works are of high authority. Domesday Book is of the greatest value and importance, when we consider the care with which it was prepared under the direction of William, and the nature and extent of its contents. "It

consists of a general survey of all the lands in the kingdom, with the exception of the northern counties, — Westmoreland, Cumberland, Northumberland, Durham, and part of Lancashire; specifying their extent in each district; their proprietors, tenures, value; the quantity of meadow, pasture, wood, and arable land; . . . and, in some counties, the number of tenants, villains, cottarii,* and servi, who lived upon them." There were three estimates, as Sir Henry Ellis states: *first*, the estate as held in the time of the Confessor; *second*, as it was bestowed by King William; and, *third*, as its value stood at the formation of the survey. This survey, determined upon in the great council at Gloucester in 1085, was completed in 1086. "The particulars were collected by commissioners appointed by the king, on the verdicts of sworn inquests or recognitions." † — "It is the ultimate criterion for what lands are ancient demesnes of the crown, and is of importance in determining the parcels of manors, the pedigrees of families, . . . and a variety of other circumstances incident to the proof of immemorial rights and obligations." ‡

Having thus the highest authority for stating that the Willard *gens* was established in England as early as the reign of William, and beginning with Domesday Book, I proceed to fill up the plan I have marked out; only premising, that the highest tenure was that derived directly from the king,

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* A cottager, *at this time*, was one who held a house, without land belonging to it.

† Pictorial History of England, vol. i. pp. 558–9.

‡ Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. ii., note from Phillips's Evidence. In the nineteenth year of William's reign, on an expected invasion by the Danes and Norwegians, he collected soldiers from Normandy, Brittany, and indeed from almost all nations, — needy hordes of foreigners, whom he quartered throughout the country, "to be paid as well as supported." Blackstone says that William did this because the military constitution of the Saxons had been laid aside, and no other introduced. A much more probable reason was, that he could not venture to trust the brave Saxons, who, if they had arms in their hands, would have turned against their giant oppressor. Blackstone inclines to the opinion, that this weakness of the kingdom, and the grievance of a foreign force, caused the king "to hold a great council to inquire into the state of the nation, the immediate consequence of which was the compiling the great survey called Domesday."

and that under-tenancy does not negative position, as many of the great barons were under-tenants to persons of their own rank, and corporate bodies held lands in the same way. "Exclusive of a few interpolations, the names which fill what is called the 'Roll of Battle Abbey' will, for the most part, be found among the under-tenants of the survey." *

WIELARDUS, Tm. Conq. 1085–6. "Ad Ersham tenuit brictmar^{9}. lib: ho: † 1. hid. ‡ T. R. E. m^{o} ten& Wielard^{9}." — *Domesday Book*, vol. ii. p. 101 b. Essex. Extending the abbreviations, the passage would read thus, viz.: "Ad Ersham tenuit Brictmarus, § liber homo, unam hidam, tempore Regis Edvardi: modo tenet Wielardus." That is to say, "In the reign of Edward the Confessor, Brictmar, a freeman, was the tenant of one hide of land: Wielard is now the tenant."

WIELARDUS (also Tm. Conq. 1085–6) is described as under-tenant of one hide of land in Berdefelda, a hamlet in Essex. — *Domesday Book*, vol. ii. p. 41 b. Essex; *Morant's Hist. of Essex*, vol. ii. p. 522. The tenant *in capite* was Count Richard FitzGilbert, who held large possessions, the gift of the Conqueror.

The next one named was tenant *in capite*, holding his lands immediately from the king; viz., —

WIELARDUS, Tm. Conq. 1085–6. "In Hersham tenuit lib'a femina XXX ac. m^{o} ten& Wielard^{9} *de rege*, ut dic." &c. — *Domesday Book*, vol. ii. p. 103, Essex.

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* Sir Henry Ellis, vol. i. pp. viii. ix.; vol. ii. p. 421.

† *Liber homo* was "a term of considerable latitude, signifying not merely the freemen or freeholders of a manor, but occasionally including all the ranks of society" (that is, the higher ranks), "and, indeed, all persons holding any military tenures. Many of the *liberi homines* were tenants of the king in capite." — *Introduction to Domesday*, vol. iii. p. xix.

‡ A hide of land was by some called a hundred acres; but the better opinion — and that which has the sanction of Sir Henry Ellis — is, that it was no one determinate quantity. The "Dialogus de Scaccario" sets it down at a hundred acres.

§ He is named eight or more times in Domesday as holding lands in Suffolk and elsewhere at the time of the survey. Under "Essex," p. 26, he is called "un^{9} teinn^{9}" of King Edward the Confessor; that is to say, a thane, and so an Anglo-Saxon. In several places, the name is written with a small *b*, as if intended to designate the tenant by a trade, instead of by name.

Wielardus, Tm. Conq. 1085–6. "In Binislea ten& Wielard[9] 1. hid quod tenuit 1 soc:* sub Wisgaro," &c. — *Domesday Book*, vol. ii. p. 39 b. Essex.

Wilardus (Tm. Conq. 1085–6) held lands in Vrdresfelda, in Suffolk. — *Domesday Book*, vol. ii. p. 396 b. Suffolk.

Thus, in five instances, we find the name Wielard, or Wilard, at the time of the survey, at Ersham (or Hersham), Berdefelda, Binislea, and Vrdresfelda. It may be that the five names refer to one and the same individual, and he a follower of the Conqueror, and receiving his share of the English spoils. The last preceding name, as well as the next following, closely resemble the established orthography.

Wilard, Walt. (in 1208, 10 John), under "Bercsir" (Berkshire), is set down at one mark. — *Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus*,† p. 462.

Wilard, Willielmus, 2 and 3 Henry III. 1218. In a list of provosts, bailiffs, and mayors of Canterbury in Kent, he is mentioned as one of the provosts (præpositi). — *Harris's Kent*, p. 60.‡

Wilard, John, 1293. — See *post*, under "Battle Abbey Deeds."

EXTRACTS FROM THE SUBSIDY ROLLS OF SUSSEX AND KENT.

These various Assessment Rolls, for the collection of the various subsidies granted to the early sovereigns, are in charge of Mr. Hunter. A very large body has been pre-

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* "*Sochemannus*, socman, or sockman," — one who held land by a fixed and determined service.

† The Rolls upon which were entered the sums of money or other property offered to the king by way of oblation or fine for the enjoyment of honors, offices, lands, liberties, and privileges, were called the *Oblata*, or Fine Rolls. They also include fines for law-proceedings, to obtain leave to institute legal process, &c.

‡ Canterbury, in the Saxon times, was governed by a prefect. Early in the eleventh century, the chief officer seems to have been styled *Præpositus regis*. In the reign of Henry III., the government of the city was intrusted to two bailiffs, who, by a charter granted by the king in his eighteenth year, were to be elected by the citizens annually. — *Dugdale's New British Traveller*, art. "Kent."

served among the miscellanies of the exchequer, though many once existing are not now to be found. They date back to the reign of Edward I. As many of these Rolls contain the names of the inhabitants of a county placed under the head of the township in which they had their usual abode, as well as the sums on which they were assessed, they give evidence, contemporary and authentic, to the existence of families and individuals at particular times and places.*

Wylard, Nicolas, 23 Edward I. 1304–5, 11th and 7th com. Sussex, rape of Pevensey,† hundred of Shepelake, "Villat: de Hodlegh & Chytynglegh. D.‡ Nicolao Wylard, ii s. j$\frac{3}{4}$ d." — *Subsidy Rolls, Sussex.*

This is the earliest entry of the name on the Subsidy Rolls for Sussex. The name is not found on the Rolls for Kent of the same period.

Willard, Laurence, and Thomas, 1 Edward III. 1327, xxth com. Sussex, rape of Pevensey, hundred of Shepelake, "Villat. de Laghton . . . elegh and Walderne, — D.‡ Laur. Willard, xvi d.; D. Tho. Willard, x d." — *Subsidy Rolls, Sussex.*

Wyllard, Will: and Joh: 15 Edward III. 1341. In the None Rolls, § Will: Wyllard, of Haylesham, Sussex, is assessed half a mark (di. mrc.); and Joh: ij s.

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* Rev. Mr. Hunter's letter, Oct. 23, 1844.

† The rape of Pevensey, in part, is within a few miles of the south side of Kent, and is chiefly within fifteen or twenty miles of the border of Kent, on the side next to Horsmonden, Brenchley, Cranbrook, Tunbridge, &c.

‡ The original is D, with a waving line through it; perhaps for the Latin *de*.

§ Inquisitiones Nonarum, p. 378. In this third commission, assessors and venditors were commissioned to levy the ninth of corn, wool, and lambs in every parish, according to the value upon which churches were taxed under the "valor and taxation" of Pope Nicholas in 1292. The inquisition was made in every parish upon the oath of the parishioners. A mark was a money of account equal to two-thirds of a pound sterling. Of the seventy-four parishioners, no one was taxed above twenty shillings, and only six to that amount. Six were taxed one mark each; and, of the residue, forty-four were taxed at less than half a mark. William Wyllard, therefore, was one among the more prosperous of the parish. John is supposed to have been his son.

I have in my possession (see *post*) a copy of the genealogy of the family of the late Colonel John H. Willard, of Eastbourne, Sussex, a magistrate of that county, and lieutenant-colonel of its militia, who died in 1845. He traced his line, on the examination of Mr. Lower, to William and John Willard of Hailesham, and erected a monument to their memory in Hailesham Church.*

Wyllard, Egidius (Giles), [a Fleming], 2 Richard II. 1378.† King's order, entitled "Mandatur quod mercatoribus Scoticis bona sua restituantur," directed to the Prior of Walsyngham, Stephen de Hales, and John de Holkham, reciting a former order, whereby they were directed to take into their custody, until further order, certain wool and other merchandise (belonging to some Scotchmen), which were found near Wells and Stokesmouth (Norfolk), in a certain ship of Egidius Wyllard, of Heynes in Flanders. The king now issues his mandate, that these goods be delivered to these Scotch merchants, they having given security, &c., to respond, &c. — *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. ii. p. 11.

Wilard, Nicholas and Roger; Willard, Roger and Thomas, 4 Richard II. 1380. In the Roll of the celebrated poll-tax, 4 Richard II., com. Sussex, rape of Pevensey, — "D. Nichō Wilard, ij d.; D. Rogero Wilard, ij d.; D. Rogero Willard, xiiij d.; D. Thoma Willard, iiij d." — *Subsidy Rolls, Sussex.*

Willard, Richard, 1377–99 (Richard II.?) xv. $_{(c)}$ x. Roll of a fifteenth and tenth, com. Sussex, rape of Pevensey, hundred of Thille, Haylesham, Richard Willard occurs as "a Baron of Cinque Ports."‡ He claims exemption from the subsidy as belonging to one of the Cinque Ports.

The date of this Roll is lost; but belongs, in the opinion

* "I took the liberty of sending your memoranda to Colonel Willard, who is pleased to state his conviction that you belong to his house." — *Letter of Mr. Lower, written the year before Colonel Willard's death.*

† This was the year of King Richard's fruitless invasion of France.

‡ The Cinque Ports (on the coast of Kent and Sussex) are all borough towns, sending each two members to Parliament, under the title of "Barons of the Cinque Ports." They are under a lord warden. In the lapse of time, they have lost their importance, their harbors being filled up; but they retain most of their privileges — *Encyclopædia Americana, ad locum.*

of Mr. Hunter (and therefore is pretty certain to be so), to the reign of Richard II. "The William Willard of Haylesham," says Mr. Hunter, "whom you found in the None Rolls (*ante*, p. 25), corresponds well with the Richard Willard living at the same place in the Subsidy Rolls."

Willard, Joh., of the barony of Rathtouth (in bar. de Rathtouth) in Ireland. In 1388, 12 Richard II., John Willard, with many others named in different baronies, was assessed in a tax for carrying on the war. The sum assessed was three shillings on every carucate of land. — *Rotulorum Patentium et Clausorum Cancellariæ Calendarium* (*Patent and Close Rolls of the Chancery in Ireland*), vol. i. part 1, p. 142, Henry II.–VII. The same barony is twice mentioned in the Rolls selected from the Archives in the Chapter House of the Abbey of Westminster, pp. 43, 54, in the reign of Henry V.

It is probable that this John Willard removed from England to Ireland. Great numbers of Englishmen settled in the latter country after the invasion by Henry II.

Willard, Miquiel (a Fleming?). On the 8th of November, 1417 or 1418 (5 or 6 Henry V.), John, Duke of Bedford, Custos of England, addressed a letter, written in crude French, and having sundry erasures, to the Count of Charolois, in answer to the count's letters from Gand (Ghent) of the 26th of August, making mention "d'une creyer," * of which Miquiel Willard was master, forcibly taken with her large and valuable cargo by some British subjects, "sur lestrom † de Flandres," and carried into "Appledy and Wynkelsee" (Winchelsea, Sussex), and there detained. — *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, vol. ii. p. 347.

This is the whole of the duke's letter pertaining to the seizure of Captain Willard's vessel and cargo. The residue of the letter refers to the count's complaint of the conduct of the English in their trade with the Flemings, for which the duke is ready to afford a remedy; while, on his part, he

* "Craier" is a small Swedish vessel.

† Perhaps the same as "l'estran," a flat and sandy seacoast.

complains that the English meet with a denial of justice in their efforts to obtain redress for their injuries. This portion of the letter is noteworthy, as showing the intimate intercourse between England and Flanders.

WILLARD, JOHN, Rev., 1521, 13 Henry VIII., was presented to the vicarage of Newington, Folkstone Hundred, Kent, in 1521.*

WELLARDE, JOHN, 1522–3, 14, 15, Henry VIII., com: Sussex. Fragment. H. of Fox. . . . lle. John Wellarde, vj s. viij d. — *Subsidy Rolls, Sussex.*

Perhaps this may be a different name and family.

WILLARD, CHRISTOPHER, Sussex (Henry VIII. ?). Fragment. Borough of Lewes, parish of St. Peter, — Christopher Willard, in goods, xxxiij s. iiij d. — iiij d.† — *Subsidy Rolls, Sussex.*

The only one of this name, in Lower's pedigree of the Willards of Sussex, is "Christopher Wyllard of Haylesham," who "ob: circ: 1500; mentioned in the will of Robert Willard of Haylesham, 1528."

WILLARDE, JOHN, sen. and jr., 1535, 26 Henry VIII., Kent, hundred of Barkley, ‡ — John Willarde, sen., 40s. lands; John Willarde, jr., ij s. lands. — *Subsidy Rolls, Kent.*

This is the earliest entry of the name, according to Mr. Hunter, on the Kent Rolls; and, after the early Sussex Rolls, "for a long period" there are no accounts from Sussex or Kent "in which the names of individuals are given."

WYLLARD, RICHARD and THOMAS, 1542–3, 34 and 35 Henry VIII., Kent, hundred of Cranbrook, — first payment, Richard Wyllard, G.§ viij lb.; Thomas Wyllard, G. v lb. — *Subsidy Rolls, Kent.*

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* Hasted's History of Kent, vol. iii. p. 399, cited by Rev. Mr. Hunter.

† So in the original.

‡ The hundred of Barkley is next to the hundred of Cranbrook.

§ Goods.

WYLLARD, THOMAS, ROB., WILL., and JOHN, sen., 1542–3, 34 and 35 Henry VIII., Kent, hundred of Roloynden, — first payment, Thomas Wyllard in G. xxij lb.; Rob. Wyllard* in G. vij lb.; Will: Wyllard in G. v lb.; John Wyllard, sen.,* in G. xxij lb. — *Subsidy Rolls, Kent.*

The assessment in the second payment of the same year was for the same sums. The only difference was the orthography of the surname, — "Willarde" instead of "Wyllard."

WYLLARD, RICHARD; WILLARD, JOHN and THOMAS, 1542–3, 34 and 35 Henry VIII., Kent, hundred of Cranbrook, — second payment, Richard Wyllard in G. viij lb.; John Willard in G. x lb.; Thomas Willard in G. vi lb. — *Subsidy Rolls, Kent.*

WYLLERDE, JOHN, 1542–3, 34, 35, Henry VIII., Kent, hundred of Marden, — John Wyllerde of Benynden, for Richard Bucling, in G. x lb. — *Subsidy Rolls, Kent.*

WULLARDE,† JOHN, 1542–3, 34 and 35 Henry VIII., hundred of Bromley and Beckenham, — second payment, Bromley, John Wullarde in G iij lb.; third payment, ditto.

WYLLARD, JOHN; WILLARDE, THOMAS and RICHARD, 1545, 37 Henry VIII., Kent, hundred of Cranbrook, — first payment, John Wyllard in G. £18; Thomas Willarde in G. £8; Richard Willarde in G. £5. — *Subsidy Rolls, Kent.*

WILLARDE, JOHN, sen., and ROBERT, 1545, 37 Henry VIII., Kent, hundred of Roloynden, — John Willarde, sen., in L.‡ £9; Robt Willarde in G. £10. — *Subsidy Rolls, Kent.*

WYLLARDE, WILLIAM, JOHN, DAVYE, 1545, 37 Henry VIII., Kent, Lowy of Tunbridge, Hylden Borowe, — William Wyllarde, L. 30s.; John Wyllarde, G. 4s. 8d.; Davye Wyllarde, G. 13s. — *Subsidy Rolls, Kent.*

WILLARD, STEPHEN, THOMAS, and THOMAS (Henry VIII.?), Kent, B . . . le (Boxley), — Stephen Willard, £ j. viij s. vij d.; Thomas Willard, ij s. i d.; Thomas Willard of Luddesdowne, j s. vj d. — *Subsidy Rolls, Kent.*

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* Lower's Genealogical Table, prepared for Colonel J. H. Willard, gives a Robert and a John about this period.

† I think this may be a different name in reality, as well as in the spelling.

‡ Lands.

Wyllard, John (Henry VIII. or Edward VI.). Sussex. Fragment. Rape of Lewes, hundred of Poinynges, — John Wyllard, *in vad.* xx s. iiij d. — *Subsidy Rolls, Sussex.*

Willard, John, 1548–9, 2 and 3 Edward VI. Sussex. Second payment. Rape of Hastings, hundred of Foxerle,* borough of Cobbeche and Dyll, — John Willard, x lb. x s. — *Subsidy Rolls, Sussex.*

Wyllard, Eden, 1548–9, 2 and 3 Edward VI. Sussex. Third payment. Rape of Arundel, hundred of Bury, sitting of Sondy, — Eden Wyllard in G. x lb. x s. — *Subsidy Rolls, Sussex.*

Willard, Richard, 1548–9, 2 and 3 Edward VI. Sussex. Fourth payment. Rape of Pevensey, hundred of Shepelake, Hotherlighe, — Richard Willard in goods xj lb. xj s. — *Subsidy Rolls, Sussex.*

Wyllarde, John, 1549, 3 Edward VI., Kent. Relief second payment. Cranbrook hundred, — John Wyllarde in G. x lb. Roloynden hundred, — Willard, Robert, in G. xviij lb.; Willard, Stevin, in G. xv lb.; Willard, Thomas, in G. x lb. — *Subsidy Rolls, Kent.*

Willerde, John and Edward, 1570, 13 Elizabeth, Sussex, rape of Arundel, hundred of Rotherbridge, Petworthe, — John Willerde, G. iij lb. iij s.; Edw. Willerde, G. iij lb. iij s.

Willarde, Rob., hundred of Burye, Storingetown, — G. iij lb. iij s. — *Subsidy Rolls, Sussex.*

Willard, John, Rev., who was born about 1585, and died in 1647. "There was a family of Willard in this part of Kent (Westerham), of which I have a short pedigree. Of this branch was the Rev. John Willard,† parson of Waldron, co. Sussex, who, in 1615, married Frances Tanglee, of Newick. He was subsequently rector of Southease, four miles from Lewes; was born about 1585, and buried at Southease. On his monument he is styled, after the parlance of the times, 'a reverente divine and painefull preacher of God his Worde,' obt. 1647." — *Mr. Lower's Letter.*

Wyllerd, John (reign of Elizabeth?), Sussex. Fragment. Rape of Arundel, hundred of Rotherbridge, town of Petworth, — John Wyllerd, G. vij lb. vij s. [probably the same as John Willerde (*ante*) who was of Petworth]. — *Subsidy Rolls, Sussex.*

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* Foxearle. † See (*post*) Arthur Willard, of the same family.

WILLARD, JOHN (time of Elizabeth). John Willard and another against Daniel White. This was a bill of discovery respecting rent of the manor-house and farm of Chilton Foliot, and divers lands parcel of the demesnes of said manor, formerly the inheritance of William Darell, Esq., who demised to the defendant, and the reversion thereof became vested in the plaintiff. — *Proceedings in Chancery, Tm. Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 383.

WILLARD, THOMAS * (time of Elizabeth). Action against him and others for intruding on the pasture or waste ground called the Dyker,† at Egle Honor, Sussex. — *Ibid.* p. 343.

WILLARD, JOHN, and ELIZABETH his wife, 1590, 33 Elizabeth. — This was a bill in equity, brought by them against George Shirley, claiming an annuity out of certain lands in Actwell, &c., Northamptonshire, late of Thomas Lovet, who devised the land to Shirley, on condition of his paying the annuity to Willard and wife during their lives. — *Proceedings in Chancery, Tm. Elizabeth*, vol. iii. p. 301.

WYLLARDE, GEORGE and JOHN, 1596–7, 39 Elizabeth, Kent, — first payment, hundred of Brenchley, Brenchley, George Wyllarde, L. 40s.; John Wyllarde, G. £3. — *Subsidy Rolls, Kent.*

WILLARD, GEORGE and JOHN. Thus spelt in the second payment of the same year, and the same assessment levied. — *Subsidy Rolls, Kent.*

WYLLARD, SYMON, "the heires of," and WILLIAM WYLLARD, 1596–7, 39 Elizabeth, Kent, hundred of Brenchley, HORSMONDEN, — first payment, "the heires of Symon Wyllard," L. £3; William Wyllard, G. £4. — *Subsidy Rolls, Kent.*

. . . . . —— Horsmonden, 1596–7, 39 Elizabeth. . . . . ‡

WYLLARD, WILLIAM, second payment, G. £4. — *Subsidy Rolls, Kent.*

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* This would answer, in point of time, for Thomas Willard, called in Lower's pedigree Thos. W. of Chalvington, or Chidingly, who married in 1577, and had children, — Abraham, Thomas, and Nicholas.

† "Dyker Waste lies within half a mile of the place where I was born." — *Mr. Lower's Letter.*

‡ "The upper part of this parish, in the Subsidy Rolls, is rotted away: and therefore may have contained 'the heires of Symon Wyllard,' as in the first assessment." — *Rev. Mr. Hunter's Letter.*

Symon's widow, Elizabeth, was buried at Horsmonden, April 12, 1587.

LOWYE OF TUNBRIDGE, TUNBRIDGE, T.

WYLLARD, ABRAHAM, 1596–7, 39 Elizabeth, L. 40s. — *Subsidy Rolls, Kent.*

The second assessment was the same as the first.

. . . . . —— Hylden, 1596–7, 39 Elizabeth.

WYLLARD, ELIZABETH, *vid.*, and EDMOND, — first and second payments, Edmond, G. £4; Elizabeth, L. £5. — *Subsidy Rolls, Kent.*

The foregoing entry, taken from the Subsidy Rolls of Kent, relating to "the heires of Symon Wyllard," induced the hope that I might be able to ascertain the parish in Kent whence issued the ancestor of the American family. "From some of these persons," says the Rev. Mr. Hunter,* "there can hardly be a doubt that your ancestor, Major Simon Willard, sprung; but these rolls afford no means for determining such a question as from which of them it was. But I beg to draw your attention to the occurrence, in the 39 Elizabeth, of 'the heires of Symon Wyllard,' who are assessed in Horsmonden. So peculiar a name as SIMON leads to the inference of family connection between the Simon of Horsmonden, who was recently dead in 1597, and the Simon who emigrated to America in 1634."

Accordingly, I addressed a letter to the Rector of Horsmonden, — Rev. William M. Smith Marriott. This gentleman, with the courtesy for which he is distinguished, very kindly replied to my letter; and, professing no skill in these matters, offered his assistance to any agent whom I might appoint, and would allow him freely to examine the parish register. Taking advantage of this very obliging offer, I engaged the services of Mr. Lower † to make a thorough search in the register, and to give me all of the name of Willard borne upon it. The result was a large collection of names, which will be given in the sequel, together with the record of the baptism of the American head of our house. We all are deeply indebted to my

* Letter of Oct. 23, 1844. † See note, page 2.

friend Mr. Hunter for leading the way in this discovery, and furnishing the clew which led out of the labyrinth.

WYLLARD, NICHOLAS,* Kent. Second subsidy, 1597, 39 Elizabeth. Town, parish, and hundred of Maidstone, — Nicholas Wyllard, G. 60s. — *Subsidy Rolls, Kent.*

WILLARD, THOMAS, sen., Kent, 1597, 39 Elizabeth. Hundred of Rolvinden, parish of Rolvinden. Second payment, — Thomas Willard, sen., in lands, xl s. — *Subsidy Rolls, Kent.*

WILLERDE, ALLICE, widowe, Sussex (James I.?). Fragment. Rape of Chichester, hundred of Eastbourne, Linchmere, — Allice Willerde, widowe, lands, xx s. — j s. iiij d. † — *Subsidy Rolls, Kent.*

WILLARDE, DAVY (James I.?), Sussex, Hayshott, — Davy Willarde, lands, ij lb. — ij s. viij d. — *Subsidy Rolls, Kent.*

This completes the entries from the Subsidy Rolls of Kent and Sussex, so far as the name of Willard occurs. It shows that a large part of those who were assessed were landholders. My valued correspondent added other names connected with my own family in the female line, but not within the design of this Memoir.

WILLARD, WILLIAM, of London, Gent., presented, 16th November, 1605, Rufus Rogers, A.M., to the rectory of Hurd in Street Hundred. — *Hasted*, vol. iii. p. 461 (*Mr. Hunter's Letter*).

WILLARD, ARTHUR, of Westerham, Kent, 1615. On the front of the gallery, at the west end of the nave, in the church of Westerham, Kent, are four tables, containing accounts of benefactions. On the third, "Arthur Willard of Westerham gave the messuage called Triborns to the poor for ever. Anno 1615." ‡ — *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxvii. part 2, p. 1104.

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* See the genealogy of Colonel J. H. Willard, *post.*

† Probably the Roll originally contained, instead of the dash, the letter G, for goods.

‡ In the present church there is a cenotaph to General Wolfe, who was born at Westerham. — *Gorton*, art. "Westerham."

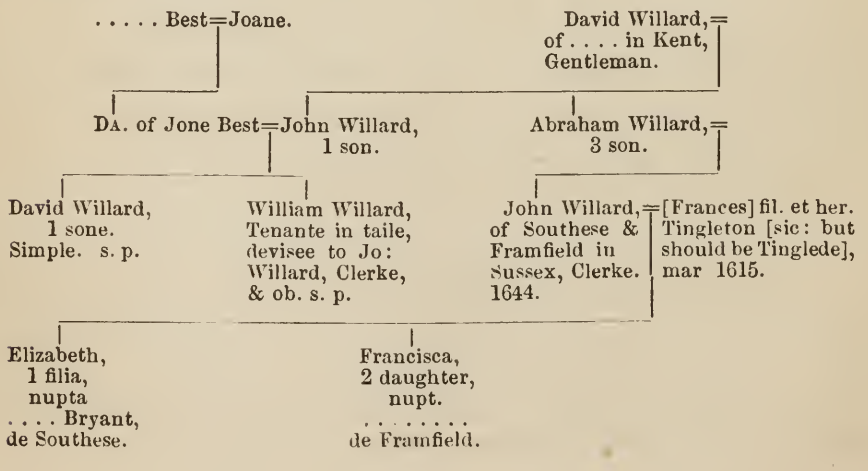
Wilard, John, 1293, 22 Edward I. Deed of gift to him, and Agnes his wife, of meadow-land called "Watlington Downe," lying towards Wynchelse, Newenden, and Aquilonem, from William de Watlintone. A.D. 1293. — *Battle Abbey.*

Wylard, John, and Agnes Shereve (Sheriff) his wife. Deed from Thomas de Haremare, feoffment of land called the "Knelle," in the parish of Watlington. No date, but probably Edward I. or II. — *Battle Abbey.*

FROM THE ARCHDEACONRY OFFICE IN LEWES.

Willard, John, married Francese Tinglede, 1615, May 18. — *E. Reg. Newick, co. Sussex.*

This was the Rev. John Willard, of Waldron in Sussex, subsequently Rector of Southease, near Lewes in Sussex, and of the Kentish branch of the family. He was born about 1585, and buried at Southease. On his monument he is styled "a reverente divine, and painefull preacher of God his worde. Ob. 1647." My correspondent remarked that "he concluded, with some certainty, that there is a connection, and a very near one, between it and Horsmonden; but," he added, "the proof is (at present) wanting." No subsequent information has been received to verify his statement. I received from him a short pedigree of Rev. John Willard, furnished very kindly by Sir Henry Ellis, of the British Museum, contained in "Cole's Escheats," vol. vi. Harl. MS. 410, fol. 47, as follows: —



WILLARD, JOHN, son of Richard, baptized 1608, 26th November. — *E. Reg. Chailey, co. Sussex.*

Richard, buried 1609, Feb. 17. — *Chailey, ut supra.*

WILLARD, JOHN, son of Edward. Jhon (*sic*) baptized 1614, 7th March. — *Chailey, ut supra.*

WILLARD, EDWARD, and Elizabeth Martin, married 1613, May 18. — *Chailey, ut supra.*

There are no later entries in the Register. The abstracts of Sussex Wills that follow are taken by Mr. Lower from the Archdeaconry Office in Lewes.*

FOUR SUSSEX WILLS.

WILLARD, JOHN, of Heathfield, co. Sussex, tanner; will, 1639: "Being not well in body, but of good and perfect memory (thankes be given to Almighty God therefor), do make and ordain this my last will and testament," &c.; dated 15 Charles I., 1639, 20th February. He gives to John Willard, son of Philemon Willard, deceased, late of the parish of Allhallow, co. of Kent, his brother's son, all his lands in Heathfield, when he shall come to the age of twenty-one. There are many small legacies to servants and neighbors. Proved 12th March, 1639.

WILLARD, RAFE, of Ifield, co. Sussex, yeoman; will, 8th August, 1599; proved 1600: "To Edward, my sonne, seven score £; to Basel, my sonne, ; to Tymothie W., the daughter of Basell, my sonne, ; to Dorothy W., daughter of the same, ; to Jane, daughter of the same, . To every one of my servants, whether men-servants or mayd-servants, xiid. a-piece. Residue to Agnes, my wife, and Ralfe W., my second sonne. Overseer Sir Walter Covert, knight, and he to have six angels, and his good lady six angels more. Signed in the presence of Sir Benjamin Browne."

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* "The abstracts of wills of the Sussex Willards are in the hands of Colonel Willard. These relate to his direct ancestors in the vicinity of Hailsham, and would not, I think, assist your researches. . . . There are in the Lewes Registry numerous Rolls of other Willards. . . . All the duplicate registers of parishes, baptisms, marriages, and burials, from an early date, are there." — *Mr. Lower's Letter*, May 16, 1845. This Registry deserves a minute examination. — J. W.

WILLARD, RAFE, of Ifeild, yeoman (son of the preceding); will, 18th June, 1617; proved Nov. 20, 1617: "'My body to be buried *in the Church* of Ifeild.' To the poor of the parish of Ifield (or Ifeild), £5; to Dorothy Lambert, 3 score £; to Jane, daur. of Basill Wyllarde, £160; to Joseph Browne and William Waler, students of Sydney Colledge in Cambridge, unto each of them forty shillings a-piece; to Edward Mills, of Rusper, my kynsman, £50; to Thomas Wyllard, my kynsman, £50; to Tymothy Bechylye, daur. of Basyll Wyllard, threescore £; to Katheryne Mills, my kynswoman, £40; to Ketheryne, wife of John Alye, £30. Many other legacies to persons of the several names of Dench, Turke, and Small. To several godchildren 20s. a-piece; to others, 10s. a-piece. William Mascall, £10; Thomas Stevens, my servant, £6. 13s. 4d. 'Item, I give unto Mr. Fettyplace, unto Michael Roberts, unto William Kempfall, unto William Gatfar, unto Richarde White, unto Thomas Bastian, unto Samuel Bens, unto John White, unto William the Cooke, unto Harry Post, unto James Iorden, unto Leonard the huntsman, unto Christopher the footman, and to old Richard Davye the porter, — to each of them ten shillings a-piece.' Residue to Basill Wyllard, my brother and executor. 'I do intreate the Right Worshippfull Sir Walter Covert, Knight, . . . in whom I doe repose greate trust, to see this my last will duly and truly performed," and give him 'ten angells of gould, and to my very good lady, his wyfe, ten angells of gould likewise.'" Proved 20th November, 1617, by Basil Wyllard, aforesaid, — ix$^{c.}$ lxi$^{l.}$ xvi*s.* iiij*d.* (i.e. £961. 16s. 4d.).*

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* "Ifield is a parish on the confines of Sussex and Surry, and at no great distance from Kent. The testator's direction respecting his burial proves his station to have been far above what a yeoman of modern times occupies. Many of the old gentry of England contented themselves with the style of yeoman." — *Vide the* "*Curiosities of Heraldry*," p. 209.

"The property he died worth (£961. 16s. 4d.) would in our days be equal to near ten times that sum." — *Lower.*

The two students, Brown and Waller, were probably members of the two ancient families of those names, of Belchworth and Cowdrey and of Groombridge, in this district. The latter may have been Sir William Waller, the great Parliamentary general.

The families of Turke, Mascall, and Fettyplace were all gentry in this district.

The catalogue of 10s. legatees were servants of Sir W. Covert, who, and his ancestors, resided at Slougham, a place of great dignity. — *Ibid.*

WILLARD of IFIELD (see the same will on p. 35), — Ralph Willard, of Ifield, yeoman or gentleman; will dated 1599, proved 1600. Married Agnes ——. Of their children, Edward was living in 1599; Ralph of Ifield, yeoman or gentleman, died in 1617; Basil married, and had daughters, — Timothea, who married —— Bechylye; Dorothy, who married —— Lambert; and Jane. These three daughters of Basil were living in 1599.

WILLARD, RAPHE, of East Grinstead, co. Sussex, armorer; will dated 11th September, 1598, 40 Elizabeth; proved 4th August, 1599: "To the poor of East Grinstead, 16 dozen loaves of bread at my funeral; to Alexander Heeley, a poor man, 20s.; to Sibell Allen, widow, another poor body, 20s.; and many other similar bequests. To Thomas Mantell, jun.,* of Lewes, my best wearing apparel; to Nicholl of the Greene, of East Grinstead, my two surgery books, entitled 'The Englisheman's Treasure,' and 'The Tresure of Health;' to Edward Edgerton, of Dorking, my herball. To my kinsman, Edward Willard, of Old Waltham, 20 markes; Alice, Margaret, and Martha Willard, my relatives; Mary Cassley, my kinswoman, daughter of Thomas Cassley, of Cralesdowne, co. Sussex. Thomas Mantell, of Lewes, my brother-in-law, executor."

BAPTISMS, MARRIAGES, OFFICERS, BURIALS.

EX. REGIST., WALDRON, CO. SUSSEX.

BAPTISMS.

1606, 15 Feb.,	Nicholas, s.† John W.
1609, 23 April,	Mary, d.‡ Henry W.
1610, 20 Aug.,	Henry, s. John W.
1613, 13 Feb.,	Elizabeth, d. Henry W.
1617, 3 March,	Henry, s. Henry W.
1616, 15 Dec.,	Joan, d. Nicholas W.
161–, 9 Sept.,	Anese, d. Nicholas W.
1616, 1 July,	Joan, d. John W.
1622, 1 June,	John, s. Thomas W.

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* An ancestor of the eminent geologist. — *Lower.*

† Son of. ‡ Daughter of.

1624, 30 March, John & Thomas, sons of Henry W.
1622, 19 June, Thomas, s. Thomas W.
1621, 26 March, Ann, d. Thomas W.
1626, 22 Oct., Steeven, s. Thomas W.
N. D. 27 Feb., Sarah, d. John W.
1629, 20 Sept., Samuel, s. Thomas W.
1641, 26 Dec., John, s. John W.
1637. John, s. John W.
1635, 16 July, Mary, d. Thomas W.

After the latest of these entries, there is a hiatus during the Commonwealth, and until the year 1666.

MARRIAGES.

1608, 5 July, Henry Willard to Alse (or Alice) Hout.
1632, 2 July, Phillippa Willard to William Winarcke.
1638, 21 May, Mary Willard to Jesse Pipper.

OFFICERS.

1613. Nicholas Willard was churchwarden.
1614. John Willard * was rector.
1622. Another John Willard, churchwarden.
1623. Thomas Willard, churchwarden.
1628. Nicholas Willard, churchwarden.
1639. Thomas Willard, churchwarden.

BURIALS.

1614, Elizabeth, d. of Henry Willard.
1616, 8 Aug., The wife of Allin Willard.
1624, 27 July, Alice, wife of Henry Willard.
1626, 6 Dec., Joan, wife of John Willard.
1641, 13 Oct., Thomas Willard.
1641, 27 Dec., Ann, wife of Thomas Willard.
1638, 5 Sept., Henry Willard.

HORSMONDEN PARISH REGISTER.†

The notices of the Willards in the parish registers of Horsmonden are very numerous from the year 1559 to about

* See *ante*, p. 34. † This is the earliest existing register.

the close of the seventeenth century, when they grow scarce, and gradually disappear. The family is now quite extinct at Horsmonden.*

Major Simon Willard's first wife was a native of Horsmonden. Her maiden name was Mary Sharp. No record of this marriage is found at Horsmonden.

1610, 24 Sept., Henry Sharpe and Jane Ffeylde were married. She was buried 1615, 19 Sept.

1614, 16 Oct., Mary Sharp, daughter of Henry, christened.

BAPTISMS.

"The 20th of Aprill, Thomas Willarde was christenede, 1561."
"1562, the 10th day of March, Mary Willarde was christenede."
1563, 28 March, Margerye Willarde.
1563, 3 May, Agnes, dr. of Richarde W. (Buried May 26?)
1564, 23 March, Elizabeth Willard.
1565, 1 May, Elizabeth Willard.
1570, 28 June, Margaret, dr. of Stephen W. (Buried July 8?)
1571, 12 Aug., Michaell W.
1575, 27 Nov., Joane W.
1578, 21 Sept., James, son of William W.
1579, 12 April, Richarde, son of Thomas.
1580, 5 March, Mary, dr. of William W.
1581, 10 March, Richard, son of William.
1582, 4 June, Mary, dr. of Thomas W.
1583, 17 Nov., Richard, son of Thomas W.
1586, 12 March, William, son of William W.
1589, 8 June, Thomas, son of William W.

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* "I spent several hours in the churchyards at Horsmonden, Brenchley, and Gondhurst, in looking for the name of Willard among the monumental inscriptions. I did not find it; nor did I find any inscriptions of very ancient date. The circumstance is explained by the practice which prevails in England of digging for interment, *over and over again*, the whole surface of the churchyard. . . . Old monuments and monumental inscriptions are usually found only in the churches themselves; but the name of Willard is not to be found on the walls or floors of the churches of either of those parishes." — *Letter of John Dwight Willard*, Sept. 9, 1852.

For a more particular description of Horsmonden, see *post*, Chapter V.

1591, 7 May, Rycharde, son of Rycharde W.
1593, 6 May, Thomas, son of Richard W.
1594, 5 Jan., Elizabeth, dr. of Richard W.
1596, 5 Sept., Richard, son of Richard W.
1596, 13 Feb., Mary, daur. of Andrew W.
1597, 4 Sept., Richard, son of Richard W.
1602, 6 Nov., MARGERY, daur. of RICHARD W

An°· Dni. Anno 3 R. Jacobi.

1605. The vijth day of Aprill SIMON WILLARDE sonne of RICHARDE WILLARD was christenede.

EDWARD ALCHINE, Rector.

1605, 26 May, Abraham, son of Abraham W.
1607, 21 May, Dorothy, dr. of Abraham W.
1607, 30 Aug., Catherine, dr. of Richard W.
1609, 24 Dec., William, son of Abraham W.
1611, 22 March, Edward, son of Richard W. (Bu. April 5, 1612.)
1612, 24 April, Alice, dr. of Abraham W.
1612, 3 March, John, son of Richard W. (Bu. June 20, 1613.)
1614, 16 Oct., MARY, dr. of HENRY SHARP.
1614, 4 Dec., GEORGE, son of RICHARD W.
1615, 9 April, Richard, son of Richard W.
1615, 31 Dec., Abraham, son of John W.
1616, 22 Dec., John, son of Richard, jr.
1619, 3 June, Mary, dr. of John W.
1619, 30 Jan., Elizabeth, dr. of William W.
1621, 24 Aug., Mary, dr. of William W.
1623, 5 Sept., William, son of Richard W.
1623,*24 Sept., Mary, dr. of Richard W.
1625, 10 Aug., Elizabeth, dr. of William W.
1629, 24 Feb., Susan, dr. of William W.
1631, — Feb., Thomas, son of William W.
1634, 19 May, Thomas, son of William and Elizabeth W.
1634, 26 May, Catherine, dr. of William and Elizabeth W.
1641, 24 Feb., Elizabeth, dr. of Thomas and Elizabeth W.
1653, 4 Oct., John, son of Thomas W.
1655, 21 Nov., Abraham, son of Thomas and Susan W.

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* So Mr. Lower has it.

1657, 10 Jan., Susanna, dr. of Thomas and Susan W.
1662, 18 May, Stephen, son of Thomas and Susan W.
1664, 3 March, Martha, dr. of Thomas and Susan W.
1670, 23 April, Simon, son of Thomas and Susan W.
1670, 1 Jan., Elizabeth, dr. of John and Elizabeth W.
1673, 12 March, Susanna, dr. of John and Elizabeth W.
1677, 1 July, Mary, dr. of John and Mary W.
1683, 9 March, Mary, dr. of John and Mary W.
1685, 21 March, John, son of John and Mary W.
1689, 2 Feb., Thomas, son of Stephen W.
1713, 3 Jan., Martha, dr. of William and Mary W.
1716, 5 Aug., Elizabeth, dr. of Stephen and Mary W.
1717, 28 April, William, son of William and Mary W.
1719, 29 March, Susanna, dr. of Stephen and Mary W.

The above is an examination to 1732, — "the close of the old book."

MARRIAGES.

1560, 13 Oct., John Willarde and Joane Crofte.
1566, 2 June, Agnes Willarde and John Gybbynes.
1566, 4 Aug., Alice Willarde and Willyam Walkelen.
1569, 20 Nov., Stephen Willarde and Joan Brattell.
1574, 29 Jan., Wyllyam Willarde and Catherine Ladde.*
1582, 11 Nov., Elizabeth Willarde and John Stubborne.
1582, 21 Jan., Thomas Willarde and Alice Stubborne.
1584, 21 June, Margaret Willarde and Benjamin Jarvine.
1586, 10 May, Elizabeth Willarde and Henry Person.
1587, 18 Sept., Thomasin Willarde and Thomas Boddell.
1594, 25 Nov., Catherine Willarde and Edward Foster.
1595, 4 Aug., Joan Willarde and Richard Rodweell.
1595, 28 Oct., Andrew Willard and Annah Heede.
1604, 29 Jan., Abraham Willard and Dorothy Doule.
1608, 20 Sept., Thomas Willard and Alice Aleworth.
1609, 17 Jan., Richard Willard and Joan Morebreade.
1610, 24 Sept., Henry Sharpe and Jane Ffeylde.
1613, 2 Nov., Anne Willard and Stephen Wilson.
1617, 3 Dec., William Willard and Elizabeth Deggett.

* A very old Kentish family, ancestors of Sir John Ladde, Bart.

1640, 2 March, Elizabeth Willard, widow, and Wm. Thornton.
1641, 7 Oct., Elizabeth Willard and James Haywood.
1680, 19 Jan., John Willard and Mary Rickwater.
1691, 9 Nov., Martha Willard and John Plumer, of Yalding.
1709, 28 April, Susanna Willard and Thomas Baker.
1723, 18 Nov., Mary Willard, widow, and John Ivory.
1724, 24 Dec., Mary Willard and George Gabriel.

BURIALS.*

1559, 30 Jan., Roberte Willard.
1560, 28 Nov., Grace Willard.
1563, 26 May, Agnes Willard.
1564, 6 Nov., John Willard.
1565, 1 May, John Willard.
1567, 26 June, Joan, widow of John Willard.
1567, 4 Jan., George Willard.
1570, 8 July, Margaret, dr. of Stephen Willard.
1577, 13 June, Richard Willard, sen.
1578, 11 April, Joane, dr. of William Willard.
1579, 2 July, Anne Willard, widow.
1581, 16 April, Elizabeth Willard.
1582, 26 Nov., Richard Willard.
1587, 7 Dec., Thomas Willard.
1587, 12 April, Elizabeth, widow of Symon Willard.
1590, 14 Jan., William Willard.
1591, 4 April, Wife of Thomas Willard.
1592, 13 Sept., Elizabeth, widow of Richard Willard.
1596, 6 Sept., Richard, son of Richard Willard.
1597, 11 March, CATHERINE, wife of RICHARD WILLARD.
1601, 24 July, Thomas Willard, sen.
1603, 24 Feb., William Willard.
1604, 4 March, Margaret, widow of William Willard.
1606, 17 Aug., Thomas Willard.
1608, 12 Dec., MARGERY, wife of RICHARD WILLARD.
1608, 15 Jan., Thomas, son of Richard Willard.
1611, 12 May, Andrew Willard.
1612, 5 April, Edward, son of Richard Willard.

* The year dates throughout from 25th March.

1613, 20 June, John, son of Richard Willard.
1615, 19 Sept., Jane, wife of Henry Sharp.
1616, 20 Feb., Richard Willard.
1616, 25 Feb., Joane Willard, widow.
1620, 3 March, George Willard.
1625, 20 June, Mary Willard.
1627, 10 June, John Willard.
1636, 16 July, True Willard.
1639, 8 April, William Willard.
1640, 1 April, Dorothy Willard.
1642, 28 Jan., Elizabeth Willard.
1654, 10 Jan., William Willard.
1658, 2 June, Elizabeth, dr. of Thomas Willard.
1675, 9 Dec., Elizabeth, wife of John Willard.
1677, 4 July, Mary, dr. of John and Mary Willard.
1679, 9 Sept., Simon Willard.
1679, 17 March, Abraham Willard.
1690, 18 Oct., Susanna Willard, widow.
1691, 29 April, Thomas, son of Stephen Willard.
1705, 21 Sept., John Willard.
1723, 20 April, Stephen Willard, æt. 73.

The foregoing list completes the examination made by Mr. Lower at Horsmonden, in the old parish register, to the year 1732. The subsequent period has been substantially covered by Mr. John D. Willard. In his letter of Sept. 19, 1850, he says, "I personally examined with care all the entries of deaths, marriages, and baptisms in the parish register from 1730 up to the time of the present rector, about twenty-five years ago, and of deaths and marriages up to the present time. The name of Willard does not occur; which, under the English law that existed, is sufficient proof that none of that name were married or died in that place, whatever may have been their religious faith. The Rev. Mr. Marriott tells me he can say, of his own recollection, that no one of the name has been a resident for the last forty years; and I conversed with several very

old men who have spent their days there, none of whom ever knew a Willard in Horsmonden. . . . As the result of careful examination and inquiry, I am able to say that no one of the name has been a resident there — in the proper sense of the term 'resident' — for the last hundred and twenty years."

The following abstracts of deeds relating to the estate called Baynden, in Horsmonden, and others, were given to Mr. J. D. Willard by George Courthope, Esq., of the College of Arms. He resides in Wileigh in Sussex.

William Willard,* of Horsmonden, deceased before 1606. Of his six sons, Abraham was of Horsmonden, broad-weaver, 1606; John,† of Bexley, Kent, yeoman, 1606, Horsmonden 1607; Joseph, of Bexley, yeoman, 1606; William, of Cranbrook, yeoman, 1606; Richard, of Bexley, clothier, 1606; Thomas, of Cranbrook, clothier, 1606.

[Abraham],‡ married before 1611 to a daughter of Matthew Dowle, of Marden, as appears from said Matthew's will of 1611. Elizabeth, daughter of —— Willard, married to John Barham, of Maidstone, yeoman; will dated 10th September, 1589; proved 11th February, 1598. Edmond Willard, of Tonbridge, Kent, yeoman, sold to John Lorkyn, of Brenchley, Kent, Mychells and Giles in Pepingbury, by indentures, 33 Elizabeth, 1589, for £92.

Simon Willard, of Lamberhurst, yeoman, was arbitrator in certain disputes between Richard Besbeech, of Gondhurst, and others, 23d March, 1575, 17 Elizabeth.

Willlam Willard, of Gondhurst, sold Highams in Gondhurst to Richard Besbeech, in 1582.

Nicholas Willard was of Wadhurst in Sussex in 1524.

William Willard, of Horsmonden, godson of William Horsmonden,§ of Horsmonden, 1558.

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* He died at Horsmonden, February, 1604. (See his will, *post.*)

† Died at Horsmonden, June, 1627.

‡ Married Dorothy Doule, Jan. 29, 1604–5.

§ So in the copy.

David Willard, overseer of John Barham, of Wadhurst in Sussex, 1551.

Edmond Willard (*supra?*) married Elizabeth ——. His brother Abraham married Elizabeth ——. John Willard was another brother. Elizabeth, a sister, married John Barham, as above.

The dates under which Mr. Courthope notes Edmond, Abraham, John, and their sister Elizabeth, are all under the year 1589.

BRENCHLEY [KENT] PARISH REGISTER.*

BURIALS.

1560, 3 Nov.	Amye, daur. of George Wyllard.
1562, 24 Dec.,	Jane, wife of George Wyllard, sen.
1566, 20 June,	Jane Wyllard, *vidua.*
1569–70, 20 March,	Martha, daur. of John Wyllard.
1572, 11 Nov.,	Thomas, son of Thomas Wyllard.
1572, 27 Nov.,	Alexander Wyllard.
1572, 10 Dec.,	Thomas Wyllard.
1583–4, 6 March,	William, son of Thomas Wyllard, of Brenchley.
1584, 29 March,	Thomas, son of Thomas Wyllard, deceased.
1584, 18 June,	John, son of Thomas Wyllard, "was buried at Lynnam."
1587, 9 April,	Thomas, son of Richard Wyllard.
1588, 6 Aug.,	Richard Wyllard.
1589, 2 May,	Joseph, son of John Wyllard, sen.
1590, 15 Dec.,	Harry Wyllard, *non legitima nata.*
1593, 19 Dec.,	Katharine, wife of George Wyllard.
1594, 26 May,	Mary, wife of George Wyllard, jun.
1600, 13 Dec.,	Abraham, son of John Wyllard.
1604, 31 Dec.,	Elnor Willard, widow.

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* The register commences with 1560; and the second entry records the burial of a Willard. Mr. J. D. Willard went to Brenchley for the purpose of examination and inquiry on two successive days The Rev. Mr. Davies, the courteous rector, afforded him every facility for the investigation. The writing is in the Old-English character, and was critically examined for the first ten years by Mr. Willard, and then revised and brought down to 1620 by Mr. Pierson, one of the vestrymen.

1605, 10 Nov.,	The wife of Richard Wyllard. (Her son Richard was baptized the same day.)
1605–6, 27 Jan.,	Richard, son of Richard Wyllard.
1607–8, 14 Jan.,	William Willard.
1607–8, 31 Jan.,	John Willard, widower.
1614, 10 July,	John, son of George Willard.
1616, 21 May,	John Willard, of Dover.
1617–18, 27 Jan.,	Richard Willard.
1617–18, 17 March,	George Willard.

MARRIAGES.

1560–1, 27 Jan.,	Thomas Wyllard and Alice Sax . . .
1564, 27 Nov.,	George Wyllard and Anne Arnold, *vidua.*
1566, 16 June,	Jane Wyllard, virg., and Nycolas Wylkens.
1571, 12 Nov.,	Elizabeth Wyllard and John Hartridge.
1573, 19 April,	Alice Wyllard and Manasser Gybens.
1573, 20 April,	Elizabeth Wyllard, *vidua*, and Richard Mydeton.
1573–4, 25 Jan.,	Alice Wyllard, *vidua*, and Richard Cole.
1585, 9 May,	Richard Wyllard and Elizabeth Morress.
1586, 17 July,	John Wyllard and Jane Gartford.
1586, 21 Nov.,	George Wyllard and Margaret Wynsett.
1587–8, 11 Feb.,	John Wyllard and Maryan Mathew.
1589, 5 May,	Mary Wyllard and Joseph Hunt.
1591, 19 Sept.,	George Wyllard and Mary Worgen.
1594, 10 June,	George Wyllard and Bridgett Mayn.
1594–5, 26 Jan.,	Anne Wyllard and Symon Smythe.
1603–4, 23 Jan.,	Margarett Willarde, of this parish, and John Johnsonne, of Hadlow.
1604, 19 Nov.,	Richard Wyllard and Johan Lodenden.
1607, 20 April,	Maria Wyllard, of Horsmonden, *vidua*, and Thomas [?]
1611, 25 Nov.,	Elnor Willarde and Richard Fanbrook (or Fairbrook).

BAPTISMS.

1561, 30 Nov.,	Robert, s. of Geo. Wyllard.
1561, 7 Dec.,	William, s. of Thos. Wyllard.
1562–3, 27 Jan.,	Thomas, s. of Geo. Wyllard, jun.

1562–3, 30 Jan.,	George, s. of Richd. Wyllard.
1563–4, 19 March,	Thomas, s. of Thomas Wyllard.
1565, 23 Sept.,	Thomas, s. of Richd. Wyllard.
1566, 10 Nov.,	John, s. of Thos. Wyllard.
1570, 14 April,	Abraham, s. of Richd. Wyllard.
1570, 9 June,	Amy, d. of Thos. Wyllard.
1572–3, 2 Feb.,	Thomas, s. of Thos. Wyllard, deceased.
1574, 11 April,	Richard, s. of Richd. Wyllard.
1585–6, 20 Feb.,	John, s. of Richd. Wyllard, jun.
1586–7, 12 Feb.,	Elizabeth, d. of Richd. Wyllard.
1588–9, 12 Jan.,	Olive (?), d. of John Wyllard.
1588–9, 19 Jan.,	Anne, d. of Richard Wyllard.
1589, 27 April,	Joseph, s. of John Wyllard.
1589, 16 Nov.,	Henry (?), s. of Richard Wyllard.
1590, 22 Nov.,	Thomas, s. of John Wyllard, sen.
1590, 7 Dec.,	Margarett, d. of John Wyllard, jun.
1592, 29 Oct.,	John, s. of Richard Wyllard.
1594, 1 Dec.,	John, s. of John Wyllard.
1596, 17 Oct.,	Matthew, s. of George Wyllard, sen.
1597, 24 July,	John, s. of Richard Wyllard.
1597, 24 Oct.,	Martha, d. of Geo. Wyllard.
1597–8, 5 Feb.,	Alice, d. of John Wyllard.
1599, 24 Dec.,	Agnes, d. of Geo. Wyllard, sen.
1600, 26 Nov.,	Abraham, s. of John Wyllard.
1601, 19 July,	Mary, d. of Geo. Wyllard.
1602, 11 April,	William, s. of John Wyllard.
1604, 9 April,	Margery, d. of Geo. Wyllarde.
1605, 10 Nov.,	Richard, s. of Richd. Wyllard.*
1606, 5 Oct.,	George, s. of Geo. Wyllard, jun.
1607, 19 April,	John, s. of Richd. Willard.
1608, 2 April,	Joan, d. of Geo. Willard.
1608, 30 May,	Stephen, s. of Richd. Willard.
1609–10, 8 Feb.,	Maria, d. of Richd. Willard.
1611, 6 Oct.,	John, s. of Mark Willarde.
1612, 19 April,	Margaret, d. of Geo. Willarde.
1612, 7 June,	Ann, d. of Geo. Willarde.
1614, 12 June,	John, s. of Geo. Willard.
1615, 11 June,	Martha, d. of Geo. Willard (broad-weaver).

* "The same day was buried the wife of the same Richard Wyllard."

1615, 24 Dec., Elizabeth, d. of Geo. Willard.
1616–17, 2 Feb., Richard, s. of Richd. Willard.
1619, 26 Dec., William, s. of Mathew Willard.

"The above extracts are correctly made, so far as they could be deciphered, from the parish register of the parish of Brenchley, in the county of Kent.

"Richard Davies, Vicar.

"Brenchley, May 22, 1851."

The following additional extracts were made by Mr. John Dwight Willard, who states in his letter, that, having a little curiosity to know how long the Willards continued numerous in Brenchley, he made an examination from 1710 to 1763; during which period, no male Willard was married, and only one male Willard appeared to have survived the latter date; nor was there any baptism after 1727.

BURIALS.

1711, 10 Nov., Frances, d. of William Willard.
1712, 23 June, Mary Willard.
1712, 2 Nov., John, son of Wm. Willard, an infant.
1717, 17 Jan., William, s. of Wm. Willard.
1720, 2 Oct., The Widow Willard.
1720, 12 March, Edward, s. of Wm. Willard.
1745, 30 Jan., Wm. Willard.
1750, 24 Aug., Edwd. Willard.
1752, 3 Nov., Mary Willard, widow.

MARRIAGES.

1722, 5 Feb., Jno. Hodge and Anne Willard.
1743, 16 Oct., Edwd. Ashdown and Mary Willard.
1750, 9 Oct., Richard Kemp and Elizabeth Willard.

BAPTISMS.

1711, 4 March, Frances, d. of Wm. Willard.
1719, 4 March, Edwd., s. of William Willard.
1721, 20 Jan., Susan, d. of Edwd. Willard.
1723, 26 Oct., Avis (?), d. of Edwd. Willard.
1727, 4 Sept., Edwd., s. of Edwd. Willard.

The name of Willard has long since become extinct in Brenchley. It abounded in the middle of the sixteenth century, and for many subsequent years. A farm in Brenchley still retains the name of "Willards;" and there is a place near Tunbridge Wells called "Willard's Hill."*

CHALKE† CHURCH, CO. KENT.—MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTION.

Susan, wife of William Willard, who d. March 12, 1631.
Mary, wife of William Willard, who d. June 1, 1637.

CRANBROOK [KENT] PARISH REGISTER.

The following entries were very kindly furnished me by Rev. Francis Barrow, Vicar of Cranbrook. The slovenly writing and faded ink of a considerable part of the old register rendered the search laborious. "I can confidently affirm," he says, "that during the period extending from 1559, at which time the register begins, down to 1662, no other entry occurs of the name of Willard."‡

BAPTISMS.

1559, 3 March, Priscilla Willarde.
1571, 3 Dec., Thomas Willarde.

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* Letter of Mr. John D. Willard.

† On the Thames, near Gravesend. This memorandum was given to Mr. J. D. Willard by Mr. Courthope.

‡ This search occupied the reverend gentleman two days. He also made investigations for me in relation to my maternal ancestors, the Sheafes, and with larger results. All this was on my simple request,—the request of an entire stranger. So much voluntary labor, so freely bestowed, deserved, as it has received, my warmest thanks. Nor did Mr. Barrow rest content with what he had already done, much less regard it in the light of a task. On the contrary, in his last letter to me, he thus filled the full measure of his generous nature: "I beg to say, that if at any time you think I can be of use in obtaining information for you, on this or any other matter, I hope you will not scruple to apply to me, and I will comply with your wishes to the best of my ability. Vicarage, Cranbrook, Aug. 29, 1845."

I regret to learn that this gentleman died at Cranbrook, Feb. 7, 1858. He was a graduate of Wadham College, Oxford, 1813; and Vicar of Cranbrook from 1841 until his death at the age of sixty-seven.

1602, 1 Aug., Anne Willarde.
1603, 8 Jan., John Willarde.
1605, 9 March, Thomas Willarde.
1616, 21 July, Richard Willard, sonne of Edward.
1625, 2 Oct., Alice Willarde, daur. of Richard.
1628, 1 June, Ann Willard, daur. of Richd.
1630, 15 Aug., Richard Willard, fil. Ricardi.

MARRIAGES.

1561, 15 July, William Willarde and Agnes Harrysson.
1576, 12 Nov., John Willarde and Joan Hall.
1616, 23 April, Edward Willard and Margaret Cotchford.
1624, 26 April, Margaret Willard and Rychard Smyth.

BURIALS.

1560, 18 Feb., John Willarde.
1595, 16 April, Joan Willward.
1602, 17 Dec., Anne Willarde.

With Cranbrook end the extracts from parish registers. It would be desirable to examine the registers of Lamberhurst and Gondhurst, especially the former one; as these places are in the immediate neighborhood of Horsmonden, and several of the family have resided in them, as we have incidentally seen.

KENTISH WILLS.

COURTS OF THE BISHOP AND ARCHDEACON, ROCHESTER.

Will-hunting, in an antiquarian sense, has its interest, and is pursued amongst us with every facility of investigation. But, in England, these facilities are costly. The mere names which follow, copied out of the indexes of the records of wills at Rochester, together with an abstract of the will of Richard Willard of Horsmonden, were obtained at a charge which would have furnished many-fold more material with us.*

* On this account, I was obliged to desist from further explorations; but subsequently, under other auspices, some additional information was gleaned.

A gentleman who formerly visited the Record Office of the Ecclesiastical Courts at Rochester, and had occasion to make some examinations, gave an amusing description of this place. He found there "half a dozen ancient clerks, seated at ancient desks, on ancient stools, where every thing had a very musty, dusty, and venerable look." "I did not," he added, "dig deep in those old ecclesiastical mines: it was too expensive a luxury. The presiding genii of the place, dry and withered as they were, possessed the true philosopher's stone, and were able in a trice to convert mouldy parchments into gold."

The other wills in the following list, besides those of Horsmonden, "are those of WILLARDS connected with Brenchley, Tonbridge, and other places in the locality of Horsmonden. Those in places more remote," says my correspondent,* "I did not search, as the name is so common in Kent, that one cannot tell to which place to direct his search; and to examine the whole would be an undertaking far beyond my ability to perform." Of course, he refers to the period he was examining.

1478 to 1513.	Thomas Willard of Tonbridge.
1525 to 1531.	Richard Willard of Tonbridge.
1546 to 1556.	John Willarde of Ligh.
1546 to 1556.	Thomas Willarde of Brenchley.
1555 to 1561.	Alex. Willarde of Brenchley.
1555 to 1561.	John Willard of Lamberhurst.
1555 to 1561.	Richard Willard of Brenchley.
1555 to 1561.	William Willard of Brenchley.
1570 to 1576.	Thomas Willarde of Brenchley.
1584 to 1590.	Richard Willard of Brenchley.
1584 to 1590.	Abraham Willard of Kemsing.
1590 to 1597.	Arthur Willard of West Malling.
1590 to 1597.	Vincent Willard of West Malling.
1601.	Thomas Willard of Horsmonden.
1604.	Ellinor Willard of Brenchley.

* Mr. Lower.

1604. John Willard of Hadlow.
1605. Elizabeth Willard of Brenchley.
1605. William Willard of Horsmonden.
1607. Julian Willard of Capel.
1609. George Willard of Brenchley.
1610. John Willard of Brenchley.
1611. Andrew Willard of Horsmonden.
1616. Richard Willard of Horsmonden.
1617. Richard Willard of Brenchley.
1617–20. John Willard of Capel.
1617–20. Jone Willard of Horsmonden.
1617–20. Abraham Willard of Lamberhurst.
1622. Abraham Willard of Tonbridge.
1627. John Willard of Horsmonden.
1632. Susanna Willard of Shorne.
1633. David Wyllard of Tonbridge.
1634. Nicholas Willard of Pembury.

In addition to these names, the list contains John Wellard of Stone, and Robert Wellard of Speldhurst, 1555–61; William Wellarde of Dartford, 1561–70; Thomas Wellard of Fawkham, 1607; Mildred Wellard of Ashe, 1621; and John Welhard of Eatonbridge, 1597–1622. All of these probably belong to a distinct family.

This list, with the abstracts which follow, taken in connection with the names in other parts of Kent, as well as in Sussex, referred to by Mr. Lower, comprises a large class of "will-makers" in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; a circumstance of much greater significance in England than with us, and of much greater account. The landed interest, in these centuries, was the great and leading interest of the country. The freeholders in Kent were very much more numerous, and the yeomanry were of a much higher order, than in any other part of the kingdom.*

Of this class of "will-makers" was Richard Willard of Horsmonden, father of the American Simon. His will bears

* See Chapter V.

date Feb. 12, 1616, — corresponding to Feb. 22, 1617, of new style; and was probably made during his last sickness, as his burial took place only eight days afterward. I suppose that he was too ill to write the will. The probate would seem to show that it was drawn up by Salomon Were, sen., one of the subscribing witnesses. I was in possession of a pretty long abstract of his will as early as 1845. It sufficed to establish the family connection, but was not invested with that interest, and charged with that information, which can only be derived from a full copy. With some pains, and at a disproportionate expense, Mr. John D. Willard, when last in England, obtained an official copy, which he permits me to use.

Perhaps he is the only one of the family who has inspected the original will since it was admitted to probate. "It is," he says, "in a good state of preservation, and, with the exception of a few words, is perfectly legible. It is written on large sheets of rather coarse paper, of a kind which Mr. Essell (the solicitor) told me was at that period in very general use in England; and so I judge, too, from many other ancient writings that I have seen there. The seal is of wax; the device of the impression, an oak-tree. Whether this was the seal of Richard, or of the solicitor, or other person by whom the will was drawn, we have, I suppose, no means of knowing."

The following is a copy of the will, — a will made before there was any standard of orthography among men of letters: * —

"THE WILL OF RICHARD WILLARD OF HORSMONDEN.

"Extracted from the Registry of the Consistory Court of the Lord Bishop of Rochester.

"In the name of God Amen the xijth day ffeburary an^{o}. dmi 1616 accordinge to the computacon of the Church of Englande I

* It is an exact transcript, except in the marks for abbreviated words. These would require types cast for the purpose.

Richard Willard of Horsmonden in the Countie of Kente Yeoman in good & pfecte rememberance (thankes be geven to Almightie God) doe make & ordaine this my pnte Testament & last Will in manner & forme followeinge ffirste & principallie I comend my soule to Almightie God my maker & redemer by whoose death & passion I surely truste to have foregevinis of all my sinnes & to be an inherito^{r}. of the kingdome of Heaven and my boddy to Christian buriall the order thereof I comytte to the dyscrecon of my executo^{r}. vnder namede

"Itm I geve & bequeth vnto the poore of Horsmonden aforesayde the sum of twentie shillings of lawfull money of Englande to be dystrubuted vnto them w^{t}hin three monethes nexte comeinge after my decease by my executor vndernamed & the overseers of the poore of the sam Horsmonden

"Itm I geve and bequeth vnto Joan * my wyfe six pewter porringers six pewter saussers one pewter basson one pewter platt^{r}. ij pewter ( ) candelstickes one doubbell pewter salte sellar j pewter pote ij pewter cuppes xij pewter sponnes . . . . . j pewter bottell vsed for aquavitæ j great Iron pote j great Iron kettell j one chayer j Joyned stoule vj table clothes x tabell napkines ij towells j shreddinge knife j morter j Iron pestell j tosteinge Iron, one bason & ever of pewter j cleaver the halfe of all my Maulte dryed & to drye so muche meeat butter & chease as shall serve her torne and my childeren vntyll the weeke after easter next after my decease

"Itm my will & mynd is that the sayd Joan my wyfe shall have the vse & occupacon of my preese — my cupbord table in my parlor frame & ij formes w^{c}h standeth in my nowe dwellinge house for & dureinge her naturall lyfe and my will is that the same shall remayne in my nowe dwellinge house for them that shall inioye the same after the decease of the sayd Joan my wyfe

"Itm I geve and bequeth vnto the sayd Joan my wyfe the sum of twentie pounds of lawful money of Englande w^{c}h Thomas Raynes my kindesman doeth owe vnto me to be payed vnto her or her

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* He married, for his third wife, Widow Joan Morebread, Jan. 17, 1610. She survived her husband but a few days, and was buried on Tuesday, Feb. 25, 1617. Catherine, who, I suppose, was the first wife, was buried 11th March, 1598; and Margery, the second wife, 12th December, 1608. The latter was mother of Margery, 1602; Simon, 1605; and Catherine, 1607.

assignes imediatly after my decease vppon this condicon that ffranncs Morebread her sonne shall seale & for his acte delivr vnto my executor imediatly after that he shall come to his full age of xxi^tie yeres one release or generall acquictance in & by the wch he shall acquicte & discharge my sayd executor & his executors of all debets duties & demands whatsoevr wch the sayd Franncis may have or require of or againste my sayde executor for any manner of debte or other cause

"Itm I geve vnto George Willard * my sonne my six sylvr sponnes & my sylvr & g . . . cupe when he shall com to his full age of xxj^t yeres but my will & mynd is that the sayd Joan my wyfe sha[ll] have the vse & occupacōn of the sayd six sylvr sponnes & sylvr & gylte cupe for & dureinge her naturall lyfe

"Itm I geve & bequeth vnto my fower daughters namely Mary † Elizabeth ‡ Margery § & Catherine ¶ all my householde stufe & impelmēts of housholde (not before willed nor bequethed) beinge in fower pts equally devydede by my executor vndernamede & fower other indyfferente men to be deliv'ed vnto evry one of them imediatly after my decease.

"Itm I doe geve & bequeth vnto Richard Wyllard ‖ my sonne the sum of forety shillings of lawfull money of Englande evry yere dureinge the first two yeres nexte comeinge after my decease out of all my messuags & lands in Horsmonden halfe yerely to be payed as also the sum of fower pounds eu^ry yere out of my sayd lands &

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* George was the youngest son. He was baptized on Sunday, Dec. 4, 1614. As he came over to New England, he will be more particularly mentioned in the sequel.

† The baptism of Mary is not found in the parish register of Horsmonden.

‡ Elizabeth was baptized on Sunday, Jan. 5, 1695.

§ Margery was Simon's own sister. She was baptized Nov. 6, 1602, according to Mr. Lower's list. But this date fell on Saturday. She accompanied her brother to New England.

¶ Catherine also was Simon's own sister. She was baptized on Sunday, Aug. 30, 1607.

‖ The parish register of Horsmonden contains several of the name of Richard, viz., Richard, son of Richard, baptized May 7, 1591; Richard, son of Richard, baptized Sept. 5, 1596; Richard, son of Richard, buried Sept. 6, 1596; Richard, son of Richard, baptized Sept. 4, 1507; Richard, son of Richard, baptized April 9, 1615. This last Richard follows too closely upon George to be the veritable one. We may pretty safely take the one who was born in 1596 or 1597. Besides, I should infer that the one named in the will was in early manhood.

tenements for & duringe the naturall lyfe of Mary nowe wyfe of John Davy my Syster in Lawe halfe yerely to be payede at the feastes of th'annciacōn of the virgine Mary & of St Michell And from & after the decease of the sayde Mary I doe geve & bequeth vnto the sayd Richard Willard my sone out of all my said meseuags & lands the sum of tenne pounds of lawfull money of Englande evry yere for & dureinge the naturall lyfe of him the sayd Richard Willard half yerely to be payed at the feastes of th'annuciacōn of the virgine Mary & of St Micheall th' archangell by equall porcōns And to destraine for the same on the sayd lands if yt shalbe vnpayed after any of the sayde feasts by the space of xij dayes nexte comeinge after any of the sayd feasts

"Itm I doe geve & bequethe vnto the sayd Elizabethe Willard my daughter the sum of thirtie pounds of lawfull money of Englande to be payed vnto her w^{t}hin fower monethes next cominge after my decease

"Itm I doe geve & bequethe vnto Thomas Bolde of Horsmonden aforesayd housboundman my kindesman one oke w^{c}h groweth in my lands called Weest binnes against the Streate their And my mynde & will is y^{t} the sayd Thomas Bold shall have full power authorytie by this my last Will to feell & cute downe so much tymber & woods from my lands called Weestbines as shall come to three or fower & thirtie pounds when y^{t} is cute & corded towards the payemet of my Debts and Legazes geveinge an accompt vnto my executo^{r} of such money as the sam tymber shall come to when y^{t} shalbe solde & deliued sayd Thomas Bolde & his ( ) assignes beinge payed for the cutting of the same by them that shall haue & byee the same woods & tymber

"Itm I will & my ( ) is that my Executor vndernamed his executo^{r} or assignes shall well & justly satysfye contente & paye all suche legazes as are yet for to be payed in & by the laste will & testamēte of Thomas Willarde* my late Brother deceased accordinge to the true meaninge of the sam his sayd will

"Itm I do forgeve & release vnto Thomas Humferie my Brother in Lawe all that sum of xix^{s} vj^{d} of money w^{c}h he oweth vnto me The resydewe of all my moveable goods corne cattell & chattells

* The testator's brother, Thomas of Horsmonden; an elder brother I think, and probably the Thomas whose will appears on a subsequent page. He died July, 1601.

(note before willed nor bequethed) I will shalbe solde imediatly after my decease by John Tyboull of Marden in the said countie my Sonne in Lawe * whom I ordain & make my sole Executor of this my laste will & testamete Roberte Goure of Stapelhurste in the said Countie yeoman my brother in Lawe & by Thomas Bolde of Horsmōden aforesayd my kinsman or by any two of them for & towards the paymete of my debts legazes and virtuouse bringeinge up of my childeren

"The disposicon of my sayd lands & tenemets is as followeth that is that I do will geve & bequeth to Maregerie & Catherin & to their heires for eu'r my mesuag barn cloase ij gardines & orchards wch I bought of Wood vnto Symon Willard my sonne to his heires & assignes for evr all the reeste of my sayd mesuags & lands when he shall come to his full age of two & twentie yeres But yf the sayd Symon my sonne shall decease w^{t}hout heire or heires of his boddy lawfully begotten Then I will my lands called the hookes purchassed of Richard Wood of Charte gent to the sayd George Willard my sonne & to the heires of his boddy lawfully begotten And my mesuage & lands wch was purchased of Evenden & Paynter vnto my sayd sonne Richard Willard his heires & assignes for evr And my lands & ten'ets called weesbines purchassed of Hodgkine vnto my sayd fower daughters & to their heires & assignes for evr equally to be devydeed between them

"Itm I do will & bequeth vnto my said fower daughters the yerely pfecte of all my said messuage & lands vntyll Symon Willard my sonn shall come to his full agee of xxij^{ty} yeres equally to be devided between them & to be payed vnto as they shall come to their seurall ages of xxj^{te} yeres by the sayd John Tyboull my executor his execuţ^{r} or assignes wch shall have & receave the sayd pfects of the sayd lands and tenemets excepte such pfectes as I have geven out of the sam lands vnto the sayd Richard my sonne vnto the sayd Richard Willard my sonne (*sic in orig.*)

"Itm my will & mynde is that my executoţ^{r} shall place the sayd Symon my sonne w^{t}h some honeste man wher he may learne some good trade wherby he may geete pte of his lyveinge & to allowe him that shalbe his master some porcōn that he maye be the

* Quere, husband of Mary or Elizabeth? There is nothing in the Horsmonden record to resolve this doubt.

better instructede Wytnes hervnto ( ) Salomon Were sen^r — John Perrine — John Smeed his mke X —

"Richard Willard

"Probatū fuit pns testm corā mrō Henrico Barnewell dicō Surrogō vēnlis viri mri ( ) Edv Pope legū dōris vicarij generalis &c viiij Martij 1616 iurto exōris cui comittitur administrō &c. de bene &c

quo tempē Salomon Were iur^m prestitit de veritē testī et ( ) interlineā. in eodem &c quē fcē fuerunt p eum ex mandato testatoris &c" *

This will shows that Richard Willard of Horsmonden was a man of very good landed estate. He gave his wife a life-interest in the dwelling-house, and twenty pounds on a certain condition; and bestowed upon her and his four daughters his household furniture. He directed that all his remaining goods, corn, cattle, and chattels be sold for the payment of debts and legacies, and "the virtuous bringing up of his children." To George he gave six silver spoons and a silver gilt cup, on his coming of age. To Richard, 40s. a-year for two years; then £4 a-year during the lifetime of Mrs. Mary Davy, the testator's sister-in-law; and, after her decease, £10 a-year during life. To Elizabeth he gave £30, in addition to her portion of the personal estate, and a contingent interest with the other daughters in Weesbines.

It will be observed that he gave all his real estate to his

* This abbreviated probate, in Latin, may read as follows: "This present will was proved before Master Henry Barnewell, appointed surrogate of that venerable (vēnlis, venerabalis?) man Master Edward Pope, doctor of laws, vicar general, &c., 9th March, 1616, by the oath of the executor, to whom is committed the administration, &c. (*i.e.*, of all and singular the goods, &c.), de bene, &c. At which time Salomon Were made oath to (of) the truth of the will, and the interlineations in the same, &c., which were made by him by the direction of the testator, &c."

children by the second marriage, — Margery, Simon, and Catherine: to Margery and Catherine the messuage, barn, close, two gardens, and orchards, bought of Wood; and all the rest of his messuages and lands to Simon, his heirs and assigns, on his arriving at the age of twenty-two years — in 1627. This latter devise seems to have comprised the greater part of his landed estate, viz.: —

1. The lands called the "Hookes," purchased of Richard Wood, of Charte, gent.

2. The messuage and lands purchased of "Evenden and Paynter."

3. The lands and tenements called "Weesbines" (or "Weestbinnes"), purchased of Hodgekine.

Should Simon die without heirs of his body, then the "Hookes" estate was devised to George and the heirs of his body; the "Evenden and Paynter" estate, to Richard, his heirs and assigns; and the "Weesbines estate, to his four daughters, their heirs and assigns."

The devise to Simon and his heirs, with devises over to Richard and George, should Simon die without heirs of his body, created an estate tail in the latter. It was the clear intention of the father to preserve the estate at Horsmonden in Simon and his descendants. Perhaps there may have been some little feeling of family pride in this matter: if so, it resulted in disappointment, like many other efforts of the kind both before and since. The scheme, if such it were, was broken up by Simon's removal to the New World; and no tradition of Kentish possessions has come down in any branch of the family. Probably after he became tenant in tail in possession in 1627, and before transferring his household gods to New England, he "suffered a recovery,"* and disposed of his inheritance at Horsmonden.

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* A "feigned or common recovery" is a mode of conveyance by legal process, very technical in form; the effect of which is to bar the entail, and all remainders or reversions dependent upon it, and to enable the tenant in tail in possession to alienate the estate in fee simple. This process, which was very common in Massachusetts in provincial times, fell into disuse after the statute of March 8, 1792,

His father seems to have been very solicitous for the careful training of this son, whom he designed to succeed him as the principal landholder in the family. Hence the direction — probably an unusual one — that Simon's master should receive some special remuneration, as an additional inducement to the better instruction of the youth. To what mystery or pursuit he was trained cannot be certainly stated; but judging from his course of life in the new world, it is reasonable to infer that he was brought up to active business.

The parentage of Richard has not been ascertained beyond all question. The absence of registers previous to the Reformation shuts out investigation in that quarter; while the number of the name of Richard in Brenchley, in the immediate neighborhood of Horsmonden, as well as at Horsmonden, and the many identical names at both places, serve to perplex the inquirer. It may be pretty safe, however, to assign either Horsmonden or Brenchley as the birthplace of Simon's father. An opportunity of collating a series of Kentish and Sussex wills in the sixteenth century — not mere imperfect abstracts, like those in the subsequent text — would probably afford new light. Indeed I scarcely entertain a doubt that a thorough examination of these wills, together with the various registers of the neighboring parishes, and the names and marriages of the sons-in-law, husbands of the daughters, would enable us to cross the "great gulf" of the Reformation, and identify the grandfather, and perhaps the great grandfather, of Simon. Richard, senior, who died at Horsmonden in 1577, and his widow Elizabeth, who died in 1592, might be found in the true line; not omitting Richard,† William the elder, and Thomas, who respectively

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authorizing the tenant in tail to bar the entail, &c., by conveying the estate in fee by deed executed in presence of two witnesses, and acknowledged and recorded. In England it was abolished after Dec. 31, 1833, by statute 3 and 4 William IV., which provided a simple form of proceeding.

† See some remarks following the abstract of the will of Richard of Brenchley, proved 1558. This will is very significant.

died at Brenchley in 1558, 1559, and 1573; Thomas, who died at Tunbridge in 1502; and William, who died at Horsmonden in 1604.

Besides those named in the will, I suppose there were other children of our Richard, who died early, viz., one or two named Richard; *Thomas*, baptized 6th May, 1593, buried 15th January, 1608 (1609); *Edward*, baptized 22d March, 1611 (1612), buried 6th April following; *John*, baptized 3d March, 1612 (1613), buried 20th June, 1613. The time between the baptism of Edward and John may point to another Richard, as the father of one of them; or it may be that Edward was not baptized until a considerable time after John.

The abstracts and extracts of several wills, which I shall soon introduce, are of interest; as they have a tendency to establish either Brenchley or Horsmonden as the birthplace of Richard; and to these places especially the future inquirer should look, and, as I already have remarked, by a critical collation of all the wills of all the Willards in these and other localities in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, endeavor to solve the doubts which now involve the subject in the constant recurrence of similar names — Richard, Thomas, William, and George — in the parish registers of Horsmonden and Brenchley, as well as in the following wills.* The earlier investigations, perhaps, would lead to Sussex as the original home of the race. It will be observed that the name does not appear on the Subsidy Rolls of Kent before the reign of Henry VIII.; but, then, it should be remembered, as a satisfactory explanation of this fact, that, "after the early Sussex Rolls, there are no accounts from Sussex or Kent in which the *names* of individuals are given."†

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* These excerpts were made by Mr. Lower, with the permission of the office. He seems to have considered it a great favor that he was permitted to make them. "These offices," he says, "allow you legally to copy nothing, and require large fees for copies;" and, he might have added, for abstracts, however meagre.

† Mr. Hunter's letter, Oct. 23, 1844.

KENTISH WILLS (*continued*).

THOMAS WYLLARDE, of Tonbregge; will, M^{l} v^{c} & ij (1502). "My sowle to al myghty godd, & my body to be beryed in the pīsch church of Tonbregge. Item, I bequeth unto the hie auter of the same Church xij Also I will that myn Execut^{r} underwrytyn aft^{r} my dissece prvyde an honest seculer prist to syng in the Church of Tonbregge for my soule, my wyfe's soule, &c., by the space of a qrt of a yer . . . & he to have for his salery xxxiij s. iv d. To the repairs of the Church, vi s. viij d.

"John Wyllarde, my son (a minor). My lands & tenements at Hadlow to my son John & his heirs. Mr. Umfray Fane to be his guardian. If my said son die before 21, my estates to be sold, and the money appropriated as follows, — 'ffirst, to an honest prist to syng in the Church of Tonbregge, by the space of a yer, to pray for my sowle, &c., x marks. Also, in likewyse, to a prist to syng in the Church of Hadlow,* x marks,' &c., &c.

"To William Wyllard, my brother, 40s. To Margery, my sister, 20s.; 'also to Rc. Edward, Humfray, Alyce, Margarete, Mercye, Sibyle, Godlef, Johan, Anne, Elizab., Johan, and Isbell, my breddryn & systryn, L xx iij s. iiij d.'" — Richard Willard and Umfray Fane, Executors.

RICHARD WILLARD, of Tumbreg; will, 1528, 11th December; proved 1529, 26th July. "I will have vi prestis at my burying . . . and at my month's mynd † x prests, to syng masses & dirige ‡ for my sowle,' &c. Alice, my wife; William, my brother; John, my son; Alice, my daughter, my lands called 'Lucies,' in T. (Tunbridge)."

THOMAS WILLARD, of Brenchley; will, 1551, 15th November; 5 Edward VI.; proved 1552, 26th March. He names "Hugh, my brother; George, my godson; Vincent, William, George, Dorothie, Alexander,§ and Arthur, my children; and Mary, my son Arthur's daughter."

The earliest parish register at Brenchley begins in 1560; so that the births of Thomas's children cannot be given.

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* Three and a half miles north-east of Tunbridge.

† So in the copy from the Consistory Court. —J. W. ‡ Dirge.

§ The death of an Alexander occurred at Brenchley in November, 1572.

The same remark applies to the children of Richard, 1558; and of the elder William, 1559, named in the two following wills.

Quere, — Was Arthur, of Westerham, who is mentioned in a subsequent page, a descendant of Thomas?

Richard Willard, of Brenchley, yeoman; will, 1558, 18th September; proved 1558, 24th October. He names "Robert, Alexander,* George, Richard, Andrew, Symon, Thomas, and William, my sons; Alice and Agnes, my daughters. — Witness, Arthur Willard."

If the age of this testator, at his death, could be ascertained, and especially if we could ascertain the respective years in which his children were born, we might be able to solve our doubts; or, at least, be reasonably assured that this testator was the father of our Richard. That he was the father, is within the range of probability; especially if we assume, as we may without violence, that he married in early manhood, and died in middle life. Thus, if he married about the year 1540, there would be ample time for all his children to come into being before the year 1558, when he died. At the same time, the ages of the children might prove that they formed no early alliances, but would not negative the supposition of this parentage.

The attentive, careful reader will not fail to notice in the above will, several family names frequent at this period, — as George, Richard, Thomas, William, and Andrew. The will-makers, — Thomas, who died in 1601; William, in 1604; Andrew, in 1611; and Richard, in 1617, — and all inhabitants of Horsmonden, would answer well for this testator's children, so far as age is concerned; while the name Symon, so unusual in England, and thus far found in no other register to which I have had access, — except, of course, as the name of the head of the American house, — would lead, by almost inevitable conclusion, to a very near connection between the Brenchley Symon and our ancestral

* See preceding note.

Richard. There is every reason to suppose, that the Symon whom we have found at Lamberhurst, in the vicinity of Horsmonden, in 1575, was the Brenchley Symon, and the same person whose widow Elizabeth died at Horsmonden in 1587. Horsmonden, Brenchley, and Lamberhurst are contiguous parishes,* of no wide extent, and the inhabitants but little separated.

In the Brenchley register of marriages there is the entry of the marriage of a Richard Willard to Elizabeth Morress, May 9, 1585; and no other of the name until 1604. At Horsmonden, the marriage of Richard to Joan Morebread, in 1609–10, is the earliest Richard marriage; while there is not a marriage of a George Willard there between 1560 and 1724. At Brenchley, the marriage of George occurs in 1564, 1586, 1591, and 1594.

William Willard, the elder, of Brenchley; will, 1558 (1559), 1st March; proved 1559, 5th December. He mentions "Johan, my wife; Richard and Thomas, my sons. — Witness, Richard Willard."

The widow died at Brenchley, in June, 1566.

Several of the remarks made in relation to the preceding will, apply with as much force to this testator. The names of sons, "Richard" and "Thomas," seem equally well to satisfy the necessary conditions of time; and Thomas may correspond to our Richard's "late brother Thomas," mentioned in his will. I judge that these Brenchley men were nearly allied.

Thomas Willard, of Brenchley; will, 1573, 2d December; 15 Elizabeth. "To John, my son, my messuage bought of Clampard; Agnes, my daughter; Alice, my wife, now with child. To William, my son, lands called 'Tebbs Buttrells, pimpe lande and pelrege.' Richard and William, my brothers; John Young, my brother-in-law; John Large, my kinsman; Abraham, son of

* Horsmonden has Brenchley on the west, and Lamberhurst on the south. Tunbridge lies eight miles north-west of Horsmonden. They are all in the Lathe of Aylesford.

John, my brother. Children of Richard, my brother, — Alice, John, George, Thomas, Catharine, Abraham."

The Brenchley Register shows Thomas Willard and Alice Sax . . . were married Jan. 27, 1560–1.

Alice Willard, *vidua*, and Richard (Cole ?), were married Jan. 25, 1573–4.

John, son of Thomas, was baptized Nov. 10, 1566; and was buried at Lynnan, March 29, 1584.

William, son of Thomas, was baptized Dec. 7, 1561.

Abraham, the son of John, was buried Dec. 13, 1600.

The testator speaks of the "children of Richard, my brother;" and, from the collocation of the names, — viz., "Alice, John, George, Thomas, Catharine, and Abraham," — I understand them to be the "children of Richard," the testator's brother. They could not belong to our RICHARD. They are much too early in point of time, according to the Brenchley Register, which gives the baptism of three of them as follows, viz., —

George, son of Richard, baptized Jan. 30, 1562–3.
Thomas, son of Richard, baptized Sept. 23, 1565.
Abraham, son of Richard, baptized April 14, 1570.

RICHARD WILLARD, of Brenchley, clothier;* will, 1617 (1618), 24th January; proved 21st March following. "To Stephen and Richard, my sons (minors), my lands in Brenchley and Lamberhurst. Mary and Elizabeth, my daughters. My wife."

The Brenchley Register shows that Richard, the son, was baptized Nov. 10, 1605; and buried Jan. 27, 1605–6. John, — probably of the same family, — April 19, 1607. Stephen, May 30, 1608; and *Maria*, the daughter, Feb. 8, 1609–10. A second Richard was baptized Feb. 2, 1616–17. Elizabeth's baptism is not upon the record. Richard, the father, was

* In England, a clothier is one who makes cloth. — *Webster*. Or, a maker or seller of cloth or clothes. — *Worcester*. In the United States, it is one who fulls and dresses cloth.

buried Jan. 27, 1617–18. He married (the same Richard, I suppose) Johan Lodenden, Nov. 19, 1604. She was buried Nov. 10, 1605, on the same day that her infant child Richard was baptized. I do not find the second marriage at Brenchley.

This testator may be the same Richard who was at Bexley in 1606: the occupation corresponds, — that of cloth-maker; or, in our more stilted phrase, "cloth manufacturer."

JOHN WILLARD, of Lamberhurst; will, 1557, 2d November; proved 18th December following. "To William, my son, £6. 13. 4.; to John, my son, £6. 13. 4.; Johan, my wife. 'I give unto the childe which my wyff is great wth all, to whome God graunt good deliũy, liff, and christendome, xl s.' — My uncle Kyrrie; W. Hogekynn, my brother; Wm. Hogekyn, my father; and George Willard, witnesses."

THOMAS WILLARD, the elder, of Horsmonden; will, 1601; proved 1601 (1602), 24th February. "Sicke in bodie, but of good and p'fect memorie, &c." Gives to the poor of the parish, at his burial, one bushel of wheat, to be made into bread. "Richard Willard, my son; Mary Willard, my daughter. Cossen Thomas Willard, of Horsmonden, executor."

The testator was buried July 24, 1601. He mentions no wife in his will. According to the parish register, she was buried April 4, 1591. This Thomas may be brother to our RICHARD, referred to in his will as "late brother Thomas."

Richard, son of Thomas Willard, was baptized April 12, 1579; and Richard Willard, without further designation, was buried Nov. 26, 1582. Again, Richard, son of Thomas, was baptized Nov. 17, 1583; and Mary, daughter of Thomas, June 4, 1582. It would seem pretty certain that these were all children of this testator. There was a Mary baptized March 10, 1562 (1563); but there is nothing in the record to identify her parentage. "Cossen," cousin, was in common use at that day for nephew or niece.

William Willard, of Horsmonden, yeoman; will, 19th February, 1603 (1604); proved 1605,* 3d May. "My house and lands at Horsmonden Heath, to John Willard, my son. My lands at Horsmonden, to Margaret, my wife; then to Joseph Willard, my son, and his heirs. He names "Margaret, my wife; John, Joseph, William, Abraham, Thomas, and Richard, my sons; Agnes, my daughter."

The testator was buried Feb. 24, 1603 (1604); and Margaret, his widow, March 4, 1604 (1605). I find, on the Horsmonden records, the baptisms of three children corresponding in name to three of this testator's children, viz., —

Richard, son of William Willard, baptized 1581 (1582), 10 March.
William, „ „ „ „ „ 1586 (1587), 12 March.
Thomas, „ „ „ „ „ 1589, June 8.

Also the following names not found in the will, and perhaps belonging to another family, viz., —

Joane, daughter of William Willard, buried 1578, 11 April.
James, son „ „ „ baptized 1578, 21 September.
Mary, daughter „ „ „ baptized 1580 (1581), 5 March.

Of the testator's children, John was of Bexley in 1606, and of Horsmonden in 1607. He died at the latter place in June, 1627. Also, in 1606, Joseph and Richard were of Bexley, William and Thomas of Cranbrook, and Abraham of Horsmonden,† — all in the county of Kent.

Andrew Willard, of Horsmonden; nuncupative will, 1611, 3d May. He names "Anne, my wife; Mary, my daughter." He married Annah Heede, at Horsmonden, 1595, 28th October. His daughter Mary was baptized 1596 (1597), 13th February. He was buried 1611, 12th May.

Richard Willard, of Horsmonden. His will has already been recited at length.

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* This is according to the copy. — J. W.

† See p. 44, Courthope's pedigree. Abraham married Dorothy Doule, at Horsmonden, Jan. 29, 1604–5.

Were these four Horsmonden Willards — Thomas, William, Richard, and Andrew — brothers; and, with Robert, Alexander, George, and Symon, sons of Richard of Brenchley, who died in the fall of 1558?

John Willard, of Horsmonden; nuncupative will, 1627, 18 May. Administration granted to Susan Willard, the widow, 1627, July 27. The testator mentions "Elizabeth, my brother Joseph's daughter; Andrew, my natural brother; my son; my wife."

He was buried June 10, 1627. Abraham, baptized Dec. 31, 1615; and Mary, June 3, 1619, buried June 20, 1625, — were probably his son and daughter.

Jone Willard, of Horsmonden.

In the index, her will, with others, is under the date of 1617–20; but it cannot be found among the files in the Consistory Court. This testatrix undoubtedly was the last wife, and widow, of our Richard. She survived her husband but a few days, and was buried at Horsmonden, Feb. 25, 1616–17; leaving the children of the several marriages orphans, and some of them of tender age.

This ends the very imperfect list of will-abstracts obtained at Rochester. In what remains of this chapter, I shall recite the names of several of the race in England, together with the genealogy of the late Colonel Willard of Sussex. It may be that we are to look to Hailsham, in that county, as the place to which the American house may yet be traced, before the family flowed out in any number from Sussex into Kent.

Lament Willard, Sussex, 1622. Parochial register of Warbleton. — *Mr. Lower's Essay on English Surnames.*

About this time, significant Christian names began to be given; followed, not long after, by scriptural phrases prefixed to the surnames.

Thomas Willard, of the Sussex branch, commissioner for executing the act of 9 and 10 William III., 1697–8.

John Willard, of Tunbridge, Kent, victualler, Nov. 7, 1719, gave an annuity of £6 per annum for instructing eight children in a school at Tunbridge. — *Hasted's Kent*, vol. ii. p. 349.

William Willard. — Twenty shillings a-year given to the poor of the parish of Hernehill, in Boughton hundred, in 1578, were payable in 1727 out of the estates of William Willard and Matthew Spencer, lying near the church of Hernehill in Kent; and were afterwards paid by

Richard Willard and William Spillet. — *Hasted's Kent*, vol. iii. p. 14.

Willard's Charity at Tunbridge, Kent. — *Report of the Commissioners on Charities; cited by Mr. Lower.*

James Willard (no date) gave to the General Baptist Congregation at Cranbrook, Kent, a meeting-house and dwelling-house, on condition that there should be no singing with conjoint voices in the meeting-house during the celebration of divine service. About forty years ago, early in the present century, this condition was broken, and the heirs of Willard recovered possession. — *Ibid.*

John Willard, of Cranbrook, Kent. — In 1731, when at the age of eighty-four years, he married Sarah How, of the same parish. He was a hale old man. At the age of eighty, "he was one of the twenty-two of that parish, the youngest above seventy-two years old, who played a match at cricket." *

Robert Willard was commissioned as lieutenant in his Majesty's fleet, March 12, 1739.†

Rev. Mr. Willard, about the year 1770, settled at Dartford in Kent, and opened a dissenting chapel. His daughter was living there in 1845.‡

Nicholas Willard, Esq., wife of. — Died in 1804, Mrs. Willard, wife of Nicholas Willard, Esq., of East Dean, Sussex.*

Nicholas Willard, Esq., widow of. — At Kelvedon, Essex, 1802, aged sixty-three, died the widow of Nicholas Willard, Esq., of Seven Oaks, Kent.*

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* Gentleman's Magazine.

† Chamberlayne's Present State of Great Britain, part ii. p. 153; pub. in 1749.

‡ Letter of Mr. Dunkin, a Kentish antiquary, to Mr. Lower, in 1845.

Thomas Willard, Esq., of East Dean, Sussex, in 1801 married Catherine Allfrey, of Friston Place, Sussex.*

Harriet Willard, youngest daughter of the late Thomas Willard, of Eastbourne, was married to Rev. Randolph Richard Knipe in 1810.* — (See pedigree, *post.*) Perhaps a descendant of Rev. Thomas Knipe, M.A., who was Rector of Dengey in Essex from 19th September, 1729, until his death in 1749.†

Harriot Willard. — Jan. 30, 1846, at Eastbourne, aged eighty, died Harriot Willard, spinster, eldest daughter of Thomas Willard, Esq.* — (See pedigree, *post.*)

Charles Willard, Esq. — Jan. 30, 1845, at Brighton, Charles Willard, Esq., youngest son of the late Nicholas Willard, Esq., of East Dean House,* where he had "a pleasant residence."‡

Captain Willard, author of a "Treatise upon Oriental Music."

The "Foreign Quarterly Review" for October, 1837, commends it as an "entertaining treatise." "With regard to rhythmical measure, &c., in the East," says the reviewer, "we are happy to have the opinion of so enlightened an amateur on our side." He is spoken of as "an intelligent officer in the native cavalry of India, who has done them the favor to communicate a few peculiarities which he has frequently noticed in the music of that country."

PEDIGREE OF THE LATE COLONEL JOHN H. WILLARD, OF EASTBOURNE, SUSSEX.

The following is the pedigree referred to in a preceding page.§ I have not spread it out in regular genealogical form, as these pages are not of sufficient size for a convenient tabular description. The generations, however, follow each other in regular order, as numbered in the margin. In several instances, I have added memoranda and notes of my own. The direct line of Colonel Willard is indicated by small capitals.

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* Gentleman's Magazine. † Morant's History of Essex, vol. i. p. 371.

‡ Horsfield's History of Sussex, vol. i. p. 284. This place is near Eastbourne.

§ *Ante*, page 26.

I. William Wyllard,* of Haylesham, Sussex, temp. Edw. III., 1341; m.

II. John Wyllard,* of Haylesham, Sussex, 1341; m. Agnes Shereve. — *Battel Abbey Deeds.*

III. —— Wyllard,† of Haylesham; m.

IV. —— Wyllard, of Haylesham; m.

V. Christopher Wyllard,‡ of Haylesham; died about the year 1500. He is mentioned in the will of Robert [VI.]. He m.

VI. Robert Wyllard, of Haylesham; m. Johan . . . He made his will in 1528, directing his body to be buried in the churchyard of o[u]r Lady of Haylesham.

VII. Nicholas Wyllard, § of Haylesham; will dated 35 Henry VIII., 1543; directs his burial in the "church-erth" of Haylesham.

VII. George ¶ Wyllard, of Eastbourne, born 1484, m. Sisley . . . They both died in 1559, and were buried at Eastbourne.

VII. Robert ‖ Wyllard, of ——; m.

VII. John ‖ Wyllard, of ——; m. He was living in 1563.

VIII. Elizabeth Willard.

VIII. Margaret Willard.

VIII. Nicholas Willard. He was a minor at the making of his father's will in 1543. He m.

IX. William ‖ Willard, of Hailsham; m. His will is dated 8th August, 1595.

IX. Thomas ‖ Willard, of Chalvington ** or Chiddingly, ††

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* See page 25. William and John Wyllard in the None Rolls. These were very frequent family names through several centuries.

† This third generation would be about the time of Richard Wyllard, of Haylesham, who claimed exemption from the subsidy of a fifteenth and tenth, as belonging to one of the Cinque Ports. — *Ante*, page 26.

‡ See Christopher Willard, borough of Lewes, parish of St. Peter, corresponding well with this individual. — *Ante*, page 28.

§ A Mr. Nicholas Willard resided at Wadhurst in Sussex, within a few miles of Lamberhurst and Horsmonden, in 1524.

¶ A family name will be remarked here, the same that abounded in Horsmonden and Brenchley at this period. This George is the first one mentioned in the "pedigree" who ventured from Haylesham. Of course there must have been earlier scatterings.

‖ A family name very common at this period in Horsmonden and Brenchley.

** Four miles and a half west of Hailsham.

†† Four miles and a half north-west of Hailsham.

1577; m. An action was brought against him and others for intrusion on the Dyker, at Eglehonor, Sussex (see *ante*, page 31).

X. Abraham * Willard, buried at Chalvington, 1577.

X. Thomas Willard, of Whitesmith House, in Chiddingly, Gentleman; m. Anne Latter, at Chiddingly, in 1631. He died between 1652 and 1662.

X. Nicholas Willard, of Chiddingly; m. Suzan . . . She was buried at Chalvington in 1661.

XI. They had children — 1. Nicholas, of Claverham, m. Anne, . . . who died in 1657. 2. Elizabeth; m. Marguick Haflenden, Gent. 3. John; baptized 1638. 4. Susan. 5. Mary. 6. Thomas, of Chalvington; baptized 1635; m. Mary . . . His will bears date 1682.

XII. They left Mary, who became the wife of Stephen Ade, Gent.; and Sarah, who was married to James Chambers, *alias* De la Chambre, Gent.

XI. John Willard, of Chiddingly, Gent., eldest son and heir; born 1632; m. Anne, . . . who died in 1699, surviving her husband, who died in 1680, and was buried under an altar-tomb at Chiddingly.

XI. Thomas Willard; baptized at Chiddingly, 1638.

XI. Nathaniel Willard; baptized at Chiddingly, 1645.

XII. Thomas Willard, Esq., of Eastbourne, attorney-at-law; born 1654; m. Jane, widow of —— Westborne, Esq., widow of Henry Bill, Esq.† Mr. Willard died in 1738, *s. p.*

XII. John Willard, baptized 1663, died 1716, *s. p.*, and buried in Friston Church (adjoining Eastbourne, on the south-west).

XII. Nicholas Willard, Esq.; baptized 1666; m. Jane . . .; born about 1666. He was buried in Friston Church, 1716. His wife survived him, and died in 1747, aged eighty-one.

XII. Grace Willard; m. R. Challenor, Esq.

XII. Katherine Willard; m. F. Smith, Esq.

XII. Ann Willard; m. John Friend, Gent.

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* See note ||, page 71.

† According to George Courthope, Esq., of the College at Arms, in a memorandum which he furnished to Mr. John D. Willard, she was the *daughter* of Henry Bill, of Ryegate, county of Surry, afterwards of Lewes in Sussex; and married, *first*, —— Westbourne, and was living a widow in 1678.

XII. Richard Willard; died in infancy.
XII. Elizabeth Willard.
XII. Mary Willard.
XIII. Elizabeth Willard, born 1695; m., first, R. Payne, Gent.; second, R. Rideout, Esq.
XIII. Nicholas Willard, Gent.; ancestor of the Willards of East Dean,* a parish adjoining Eastbourne on the south.
XIII. John Willard; buried at Friston.
XIII. Thomas Willard, of Eastbourne, Esq., attorney-at-law; born 1699; m. Mary, daughter of Charles Smith, of Uckfield, Esq., attorney-at-law. Thomas died 1735, and was buried in Eastbourne Church.
XIV. Thomas Willard, of Eastbourne, Esq.; born 1729; m., 1758, Harriett, daughter and heiress of William Davis, of Enfield, county of Middlesex, and of Norfolk Street, London, Esq., Governor of Bengal, by Anne, daughter and heiress of —— Southern, Esq. Thomas Willard died in 1794,† and was buried in Eastbourne Church.
XIV. Nicholas Willard,‡ Esq., born 1731; m. Judith Cottle, of Colchester, Essex.
XIV. Mary Willard.
XIV. Catherine Willard.
XV. Thomas George Willard, Esq. He died some years ago.
XV. William Davis Willard. He died some years ago.
XV. Charles Willard, of Seven Oaks, county of Kent, Esq.; born about 1763; m.

He died at Seven Oaks, May 16, 1843, aged eighty; leaving a daughter and heiress, Catherine. He was for many years Clerk of the Peace.§

XV. Harriott Willard.
XV. Catherine Willard.
XV. Maria Anne Willard.
XV. Louisa Willard.

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* The Willards of East Dean are a branch of the Eastbourne house. They possessed a good estate at this period; but, in subsequent years, have not prospered equally with their Eastbourne cousins.

† 1792, according to Mr. Courthope.

‡ He would answer well, in point of time, for the Nicholas who was commissioned an Ensign in the 71st Regiment of Foot in 1759.

§ Gentleman's Magazine.

XV. John Harry Willard, of Eastbourne, Esq.; born 1770; Lieutenant-Colonel of the Royal Sussex Militia, Deputy-Lieutenant, and Magistrate of the county.

He died at Eastbourne, May 27, 1845, aged seventy-four, *s.p.* His wife, Madam Charlotte Willard (of the Vardon family), survived him.

XV. Nicholas Willard, of Eastbourne; born 1774; Major in the Royal Sussex Militia. He has been thrice married. One of his wives was Barbara, daughter of Captain George Bailey. In 1815, he was admitted a member of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. Mrs. Barbara Willard died April 30, 1807. He has two daughters: the eldest, Harriett, or Harriett Barbara, was married, at Brighton, to William Hood, Esq., of Upper Bedford Place, Sept. 3, 1840. The second daughter, Charlotte Frances, was married at Eastbourne, Aug. 27, 1853, to M. Paul Théodore Batailard, of Chartreuse de Liget, Indre et Loire.

Major Willard died before the marriage of this second daughter.

XV. Leonard Kelham Willard, of Brighton, Esq.; born in 1776; Major in the —— Regiment. When a Lieutenant in the 8th Regiment of Light Dragoons, 1803, he was wounded, and lost an arm in the battle between the British troops, in the East Indies, and the Mahratta troops.* He has resided at Brighton. He is the youngest brother of the late Colonel John H. Willard. He m. Harriett Alice, second daughter and co-heir of Nathaniel Thomas, of Cobb Court, county of Sussex, Esq.

The occurrence of the same names — William, John, Robert, George, Thomas, and Richard — in the first half of the fourteenth century and in the sixteenth century, among the Subsidy Rolls of Sussex and in the pedigree, and the occurrence of the same names at Brenchley, Horsmonden, and other places in Kent, during the latter period,† are very numerous; indeed, enough to be worthy of notice, as indi-

* Gentleman's Magazine, containing the despatches from the army.

† It will, however, be remembered that William Willard is found in Kent as early as 1218, when he was Provost of Canterbury.

cating a close connection between the Sussex and Kentish Willards living in adjoining counties, and not remote in their respective residences. They are too frequent, as I think it will be found on careful examination, to be considered merely accidental coincidences.

No one of the name or family of Willard remains at Horsmonden, where, as well as at Brenchley, they at one time formed a considerable part of the population. Several years ago, there was reason to believe that the name was still to be found at Horsmonden. It arose from a remark made by the late Mr. Charles Willard, of Seven Oaks, an elder brother of Colonel Willard. Madam Charlotte Willard, the wife and widow of the latter, wrote to me as follows;* viz., "We have heard Mr. Charles Willard† say that Mr. Willard, of Horsmonden, called upon him some years ago, and said that his family came originally from Sussex, but that he was not aware he had any relations remaining, and seemed pleased to make the acquaintance of *Mr. Charles Willard;* saying, at the same time, he thought he could not do better than leave his property to him: but there the intercourse ended." In a subsequent letter,‡ in answer to my further inquiries, she added, "I am sorry to say, I cannot give you any information respecting Mr. Willard, of Horsmonden. The only time we ever heard his name mentioned was that to which I alluded when I last wrote to you. Neither of Colonel Willard's brothers§ ever heard of him; nor do we any of us know whether he is alive or not."

The examination made by my relative and friend, Mr. John Dwight Willard, when in England, in the year 1850, shows that there is some mistake in this account, and that no one of the name of Willard has been a resident in Horsmonden (in the proper sense of the term "resident") for the last hundred and twenty years.¶

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* Eastbourne, Jan. 20, 1845.

† He died at Seven Oaks, Kent, May 16, 1843.

‡ March 28, 1845.

§ Major Nicholas and Major Leonard Kelham Willard. ¶ See pp. 43, 44.

But although Horsmonden, Brenchley, and Cranbrook no longer contain any descendants of the old settlers of former centuries, and though the Eastbourne and East-Dean branches are not numerous, more extended inquiries elsewhere in Sussex and Kent, and a wider survey in other counties, would probably show that many still remain. If not, it would only be another instance of the frequent but unexplained fact, that a numerous name gradually diminishes, and, in the lapse of a few centuries, finally disappears from its ancient seats.

At Kenilworth my correspondent met Mr. James Willard, Postmaster at Rugby, a native of Midhurst in Sussex, as were his father and grandfather. He expressed himself much gratified to greet a cousin from this side of the great water. There are none of the name in Rugby or the neighborhood but himself and son. There are several gentlemen of the name in London: among them is Mr. Henry Willard, whom my correspondent saw. He was from Sussex or Kent. Very recently, there was one of the name in Buckinghamshire: I refer to the late Mr. John Willard, who perished in that great destruction of human life on the railroad between Toronto and Hamilton, Canada West, in March, 1857.

Recalling attention to the names which have been given in the preceding pages, and casting an eye upon the maps of Sussex and Kent, we shall see that the Willards have been numerous in the former county, extending from Petworth on the west; Horsham, East Grinstead, and Ifield, on the north; Eastbourne and East Dean on the south; nearly to the borders of Kent on the east; and, in Kent, from Westerham on the west to Dover on the east; and from Bexley, Dartford, and Chalke, on the north, to Tunbridge, Lamberhurst, Horsmonden, Gondhurst, Cranbrook, and Rolvenden, on the south; and, in the interior, from Seven Oaks to Canterbury, besides in several intermediate parishes in both counties.

Investigations conducted in various parishes in these

counties, with diligent and persevering effort, and in a wider field, — judging from the results obtained from the limited but laborious inquiries which have been instituted, — would add largely to the present stock of genealogical treasure. But it is not my purpose to pursue the subject at this present time. I have established beyond controversy the facts which are of primary importance and interest to those for whom I write; viz., that the family was upon English soil, firmly rooted, at a very early period, and has there continued through many successive generations to the present day; that the immediate ancestor of the great body of the Willard *gens* in this country was of Kentish birth and nurture at Horsmonden, of respectable standing in society; and that his father was of like position, well established, it would seem, in character as well as in property, and possessing an ample landed estate.

Thus circumstanced, it would be unreasonable to be dissatisfied; nay, it would be reasonable to be wholly and gratefully content that the family was of good standing in the mother country at an early day, without being careful to link their fortunes with either the questionable followers of William the Conqueror, those who came over afterwards in his wake, or the earlier Anglo-Saxon, from either of whom they may have descended.

There is great good sense, as well as a true spirit, in this remark of my valued friend,* "You have fixed your foot firm in the parent country; you have got a respectable origin there; and you start with a man whose birth was not long after the Reformation" (1534). And one of the family, not given to enthusiasm or vainglory, but sober and thoughtful, follows in the same strain, saying that "the English, even the highest nobility, are quite satisfied if they can trace their descent from some one who came over with William the Conqueror, . . . without attempting to look beyond; and we, I think, must be content to accept, as the

* Rev. Mr. Hunter. Letter of Oct. 15, 1846.

head of our family, that stalwart old warrior and puritan who first planted our . . . race on these . . . shores."

Nothing remains to be considered in this chapter, except a description of the arms of the family. Some persons amongst us, and hosts abroad, deem this subject one of moment and importance ; and it may be so, if viewed aright, as connecting the present and former generations in an alliance of blood with a deserving ancestry. It is a sign ; and, like all other signs, of no value, unless it is a true type of the thing signified.

In England, the bearing of arms was fully established as early as the reign of Henry III. ; while, on the continent, it is traced to the time of the tournaments and crusades. The king and nobles assumed them with various devices ; and the latter, in various instances, granted them to their followers. Originally there was no restriction upon the use of arms ; but, as there was hardly a middle class in these centuries between the noble and the serf, there were not many persons out of the privileged order who sought the distinction. Gradually the class of gentry sprung up, and with it a wider use of coat-armor, so pressing upon the heel of the noble, and so troubling his exclusive notions, as to "gall his kibe."

Indeed, so grievous had it become in the time of the fifth Henry, that this monarch issued a proclamation forbidding any one, of whatever rank, from assuming arms, unless "jure antecessorio," or by donation of some one having sufficient power, and proving the same, except only those who had borne arms at Agincourt. To have done good service in that celebrated field seems to have entitled the soldier to assume or retain these insignia of the legion of honor of that day.

But still heraldry had its troubles. While many were ambitious of the coveted distinction, and anxious to keep the array pure, numerous irregularities crept in. To prevent

these irregularities, the two Provincial Kings of Arms were required by royal order to visit the various counties, and to call upon esquires and gentry to exhibit the authority by which they claimed the use of arms. Thus it came to pass, that the right must be proved through the visitation by descent, or by a descent from some original grantee, otherwise application must be made to the Earl Marshal in order to become a grantee. The first visitation was early in the sixteenth century; the last was under a commission in 1686. They were discontinued, says Burke, "owing chiefly to the abolition of the constableship of England as a permanent office; in consequence of which, the officers of arms were no longer able to maintain their authority or enforce their commands."*

In the progress of time, and in the growth of larger, more substantial, and more real interests, those of heraldry have vastly diminished in weight and consequence.

At the present day, if the arms of a family are not found at the College of Arms, it is a potential argument that they are without authority. According to one English antiquary,† the argument is but little less than conclusive; while another ‡ deems it wholly conclusive.

With regard to the Willard arms, Mr. Lower says, "These arms cannot be traced to any grant from the Herald's Office, and may therefore be regarded as ancient arms. . . . Colonel Willard's family bore them only generally and prescriptively. . . . It is impossible to say how remotely they were assumed; but I should think they are of old date: and there is as much probability that you are descended from the first bearer as that Colonel Willard was."§

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* "Numbers arrogated to themselves arms of honor, and thus introduced a confusion which has never been remedied." — *Book of Family Crests*, vol. i. p. 19.

† Rev. Mr. Hunter. — *Letter of Mr. J. D. Willard.*

‡ Sir Charles Young, of the College of Arms. — *Letter of Mr. J. D. Willard.*

§ "With regard to the armorial bearings, Colonel Willard knows no more than that they have been handed down from one generation to another." — *Letter of Madam Charlotte Willard, Eastbourne*, Jan. 20, 1845, written during the illness of her husband.

If not ancient in the strict sense of the term, they must have been adopted soon after the last visitation: certainly they were used early in the last century by Thomas Willard, Esq., of Eastbourne, attorney-at-law, grandfather of Colonel Willard; and probably by Nicholas Willard, Esq., father of Thomas. The probability seems to be that they were assumed at an early day, without grant, — as was very frequent, — and were dropped in consequence of the proclamation of Henry V., and resumed in the Sussex branch of the family soon after the time of the last visitation, as they can be traced back nearly to that period. Berry, in his Preface to "Sussex Genealogies," speaking of the visitation of 1633, says that the heralds of that day were by no means infallible.

The following is a description of the arms; viz., — Argent on a chevron sable between three fish weels * proper, five ermine spots. Crest, a griffin's head erased or. Motto, "Gaudet patientia duris." †

Instead of this ancient charge, — a weel, — Colonel Willard had the flask, or jar. The reason of the alteration is not known, unless it is because the Folebarnes ‡ and Willeys ‡ have the former charge. The weel, being the most ancient and characteristic, should be retained.

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* The different charges in coats of arms are very numerous, and many times fanciful, — as mastiff, wildcat, panther, lion, boar, stag, hind, leveret, toad, goat, pelican, raven, hawk, harpy, butterfly, parrot, duck, lizard, newt, hedgehog, wheel, *weel*, shell-fish, fish-hooks, &c., selected according to the taste or fancy of the wearer.

† This motto is taken for the American family. One of the family, residing in New Brunswick, when in London procured a copy of the arms having the flask or jar charge, with the motto, "Ubi libertas, ibi justitia." Whether this was Colonel Willard's motto, I do not know; but the other motto is most german to the weel.

‡ The Folebarnes have two weels, and the Willeys three. — *Glossary of Heraldry*, p. 324; *Burke's Armory*.

The heraldry of fish forms the subject of an interesting and beautifully illustrated volume by Mr. Thomas Moule; which likewise treats of shells, sea-monsters, and instruments used in fishery. — *Glossary of Heraldry*, p. 137.

CHAPTER III.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE WILLARDS IN THIS COUNTRY, NEITHER DESCENDED FROM MAJOR SIMON WILLARD; NOR FROM HIS FATHER, RICHARD WILLARD.

The Willards of Maryland are to be classed under this head. I have before referred to them, in the first chapter, in some remarks upon the national origin of the name; and I purpose now to give a brief account of them since they took up their residence in this country.*

Three brothers and one sister came to this country, from Upper Mallingea, Palts, in Germany, in 1746, and landed at Philadelphia. This statement of *three brothers*, perhaps, may cause New-England antiquaries to smile, as they have so often heard that fanciful theory stated by persons in relation to their own ancestors,—persons who have never investigated the facts of their genealogical history. But, in regard to the Maryland Willards, the statement is strictly true. There could hardly be room for a mistake in a matter so comparatively recent as the year 1746; and no room whatsoever for a mistake, when we remember that children of two of these brothers, with their families, were living in Frederic County and elsewhere certainly as late as 1819,

* For all the information I possess in relation to the Willards of Maryland, I am indebted to the kindness of my friend James Willard, M.D., of Jefferson, Frederic County, Md., — a descendant in the fourth generation from [1] Dewalt Willard, his first American ancestor, whose birth and marriage took place in Germany. This gentleman has very generously furnished me with an extended genealogical chart of the descendants of [1] Dewalt's four children, — [2] Elias, [2] Anna Maria, [2] Dewalt, and [2] Catherine; most of whom settled in the Valley of Frederic. This chart he has elaborated with care and painstaking diligence, and has very kindly left it, together with his "letters, entirely to my disposal." I have drawn from them largely in the following pages.

when [2]Elias Willard, of this second generation, died. He was twelve years of age when he accompanied his father, two uncles, and an aunt, from Germany; and he grew up in Maryland to be a man of vigorous powers of mind and body. The tradition — if such it can be called — is still fresh among the grandchildren of the first settlers in Frederic County: indeed, it may be set down as an historical fact.

"The names of the brothers," says Dr. Willard, "were [1]Dewalt, [1]Peter, and [1]Caspar. The sister's name has been forgotten; though it is believed she married a Harbaugh, and from her is descended a numerous progeny. [1]Dewalt and [1]Peter settled in Frederic County in this State (Maryland); and [1]Caspar near York, Penn. [1]Dewalt lived to a very advanced age, and, with his wife, lies interred in Middletown, a neighboring village."

Dr. Willard has not been able to furnish me with a chart of the family of [1]Peter; nor of that of [1]Caspar, if he had a family. He says, however, "it is believed that [1]Caspar died childless."

[1] Dewalt* Willard; married —— Kerich (Anglicized Church) long before they left Germany. They had six children; viz., —

[2] Elias Willard; b. June 24, 1734; m., April 6, 1762, Rosanna Gump,† b. Feb. 16, 1743; and d. 1819, æt. eighty-five. "He lived and died on his paternal acres; and from him and his brother [2]Dewalt are descended all of the name in this valley, and others located in various parts of this State (Maryland), of Virginia, and Ohio."

[2] Anna Maria Willard; m. George Cost. He d., Jan. 11, 1817, in Middletown Valley. They "left an only son, [3]George; from whom came an only daughter, [4]Elizabeth, now married to a Mr. Carper, a young and very respectable advocate at the Leesburg (Va.) bar.

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* The figure before each name denotes the particular generation, — 1 being [1]Dewalt, the common ancestor; 2, his children; 3, his grandchildren; 4, his great-grandchildren; and so on.

† The chart shows a great prevalence of German names in the intermarriages with the Willard family.

[2] ELIZABETH WILLARD; lived to an advanced age, and d. unmarried.

[2] DEWALT WILLARD; m. Elizabeth Brandeburg. Of this marriage, there are now descendants in Middletown Valley and elsewhere. This [2] Dewalt also "lived and died on his paternal acres." He left four sons and one daughter.

[2] PHILIP WILLARD; m. Mary Brandeburg. He "went westward; but, no communication having been kept up between the respective families, the time and place and circumstances of his death are entirely unknown."

[2] CATHERINE WILLARD; m. George Poe. She was "celebrated for her surpassing comeliness of person." Mr. Poe, at the time of the marriage, was "a young man much admired in this valley, and a brother to the man so distinguished in the annals of the border warfare. From them proceeded one son, [3] George; and two [3] daughters."

The following are the descendants of [2] ELIAS, [2] ANNA MARIA, [2] DEWALT, and [2] CATHERINE WILLARD, according to the chart of Dr. Willard, with such dates as he has been able to furnish: —

[2] ELIAS WILLARD AND HIS DESCENDANTS.

[2] ELIAS WILLARD; m., April 6, 1762, Rosanna Gump.

[3] MARY ANGEL WILLARD; b. May 27, 1763; m. —— Gump, who had children, —

[4] John, [4] Elias, [4] Benjamin, [4] Rosanna, [4] Elizabeth.

[3] CATHARINE WILLARD; b. May 15, 1764; m. Henry Combs, and had children, —

[4] Anna, [4] Elizabeth, [4] Mary, [4] Eliza, [4] Margaret, [4] Catharine, [4] Maria, [4] Henry.

[3] ANN MARGARET WILLARD; b. Aug. 27, 1765; m. Jacob Eller, and had children, —

[4] Elias, [4] Jacob, [4] Elizabeth, [4] Nancy.

[3] Rosanna Willard; b. Feb. 19, 1767; m. Adam Karn, and had children, —

[4] Philip, [4] Mary, [4] George, [4] Elizabeth,* [4] John, [4] Sarah, [4] Catharine, [4] Mahlon.

[3] Philip Willard; b. Aug. 14, 1769; m., June 28, 1796, Catharine Canouph, b. July 16, 1777. They emigrated to Columbiana County, O., 1810; had children, —

[4] Elizabeth, [4] John, [4] Catharine, and [4] Rosanna.

[4] Elizabeth Willard; b. 1796; m. Jacob Fox. She d. 1839; had children, —

[5] Mary Ann, [5] John, [5] Philip, [5] Catharine, [5] Eustina, [5] Jacob, [5] Elizabeth, [5] Sarah.

[4] John Willard; b. 1801; m. ——. Had children, —

[5] Elias, [5] Susanna, [5] Jacob, [5] Philip, [5] John, [5] George, [5] Joseph, [5] Peter, [5] Catharine, [5] Elizabeth, [5] Adam, [5] Rosanna, [5] Matilda.

[4] Catharine Willard; b. 1806; m. Alexander Anderson; had children, —

[5] James, [5] Rosanna, [5] Sarah, [5] Elizabeth, [5] Philip, [5] Lydia.

[4] Rosanna Willard; b. 1813; m. Hugh Laughlin; had children, —

[5] Philip, [5] Sarah, [5] James, [5] William, [5] John, [5] Elizabeth, [5] Ann.

[3] George Willard;† b. May 13, 1770; m., June, 1804, Susan Culler, b. March 14, 1781. He died Dec. 24, 1849. Had children, —

[4] Mary, [4] Elizabeth, [4] Philip, [4] Catharine, [4] George, [4] Susanna, [4] John, [4] Henry, [4] Ann Eliza, [4] George Tilghman.

[4] Mary Willard; b. Nov. 24, 1805; m., Nov. 11, 1824, Christian Weaver, b. July 26, 1797. They now (1858) reside in Muscatine City, Iowa. Had children, —

[5] George Henry; b. Sept. 6, 1825; d. July 22, 1826.

[5] Elizabeth Ann; b. Sept. 19, 1826; m., Aug. 28, 1852, Samuel Peacher, of Harper's Ferry, Va., and have, —

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* Elizabeth Karn m. Hon. Daniel S. Biser. See [3] Margaret Willard, *post.*

† The memory of Mr. [3] George Willard remained unimpaired to a ripe old age. From him my correspondent derived his information in relation to the old German traditions of the family, and the narrative of their early settlement in Maryland. — *Letter of Dr. James Willard*, Feb. 5, 1848.

[6]Emma Elizabeth, b. July 3, 1853; [6]Mary Allevia, b. Aug. 5, 1856. Since their marriage, they have resided in Baltimore, until the present year. They now reside in Muscatine City.

[5]Singleton; b. Sept. 27, 1827.

[5]Susanna; b. Sept. 20, 1828; d. Sept. 6, 1829.

[5]Washington Alexander; b. Oct. 24, 1829; d. July 26, 1830.

[5]William Caspar; b. March 28, 1831; d. Feb. 28, 1832.

[5]Mary Ann Maria; b. Dec. 3, 1832.

[5]Emma Catharine; b. Jan. 1, 1835; d. Sept. 3, 1845.

[5]Allevia; b. June 25, 1837.

[5]Louisa Jane; b. Oct. 7, 1840.

[4]Elizabeth Willard; b. Aug. 22, 1807; m., Oct. 25, 1825, Jacob Remsburg. She d. Feb. 19, 1848. Their children,—

[5]Stephen Louis, d.; [5]George Peter; [5]Jonathan Albert, d.; [5]Lucinda Virginia, [5]Washington Zachariah, [5]Elizabeth Rebecca, [5]Philip Alexander Willard, [5]Ann Amelia, [5]Calvin, [5]James Gideon, [5]Charles Augustus, [5]Jacob Albert.

[4]Rev. Philip Willard, A.M.; b. Sept. 29, 1809; m., 1831, Margaretta Critzman, of Gettysburg, Penn. Their children,—

[5]Susanna Maria Virginia, [5]Jeanette, [5]Martin Luther, [5]George Melchior Muhlenburg.

[4]Catharine Willard; b. Feb. 20, 1812; m. Wm. Tyler Ervin.

[4]George Willard; b. and d. 1813.

[4]Susanna (more commonly Anna) Willard; b. Sept. 20, 1814; m., Nov. 9, 1847, [4]James Willard, M.D.,* b. April 21, 1820. For their children, see under Dr. [4]James Willard, p. 88.

[4]John Willard; b. March 24, 1817; m., March 9, 1841, Louisa Wasmus, of Gettysburg, Penn. He died at his residence near Jefferson, Md., June 6, 1856. Their children,—

[5]John Milton; b. Jan. 3, 1842.

[5]George; b. May 13, 1844.

[5]Fanny Taylor; b. Nov. 29, 1846.

[5]Mary Louisa; b. Nov. 19, 1849.

[5]Arthur; b. June 15, 1852.

[5]——, youngest daur.; d. June, 1856, in the second year of her age.

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* My correspondent.

[4] Henry Willard; b. Dec. 28, 1818; m., July 28, 1846, Sarah Ellen Adlum. They now reside at Berkley Springs, Va. Their son, —

[5] Eugene; b. Sept. 10, 1849.

[4] Ann Eliza Willard; b. July 8, 1821.

[4] George Tilghman Willard; b. Jan. 2, 1824.

[3] Mary Elizabeth Willard; b. Aug. 13, 1771; m. John Custard. Their children, —

[4] Jacob, [4] John, [4] Adam, [4] Mary.

[3] Magdalene Willard; b. Nov. 13, 1774; m. George Enos. Had children, —

[4] Eliza, [4] John, [4] George, [4] Joseph, [4] Mary, [4] Elizabeth, [4] Daniel.

[3] Sarah Willard; b. June 27, 1776; m. Henry Rhodes. Had children, —

[4] John, [4] Daniel, [4] Henry.

[3] John Willard; b. March 16, 1777; m. Mary Schafer, b. Oct. 23, 1781. He was instantly killed, by the falling of a tree, in the winter of 1830. Their children, —

[4] Catharine Willard; b. April 6, 1805; m. Otho Harley.

[4] John Willard; b. Nov. 25, 1806; m. [4] Malinda Willard, daur. of [3] John, son of [2] Dewalt, brother of [2] Elias. [4] John d. of cholera, at Columbus, O., 1850.

[4] Henry Willard (Rev.), A.M.; b. April 6, 1811; m. Susan Gaese.

[4] Elias; b. Jan. 5, 1813; d. young.

[4] George Washington Willard (Rev.), A.M.; b. June, 1817; m. Louisa Little, second daur. of Dr. Little, of Mercersburg, Penn. Their children, —

[5] Cephas, [5] John Newton, [5] Parker Little.

[4] Ezra Willard; b. Feb. 5, 1821.

[4] Rosanna Willard; b. Oct. 9, 1826; d. 1847.

[3] Elias Willard; b. Oct. 20, 1778; m. Mary Magdalene Becker. Removed to Columbiana County, O., where he now resides (December, 1850). Had children, —

[4] Daniel, [4] Samuel, [4] John, [4] Joseph, [4] William, [4] Mary Ann, [4] Henry, [4] Rosanna, [4] Elizabeth.

[3] Susanna Willard; b. Jan. 1, 1781; m. Jacob Winpigler. Had children, —

[4] Mary; [4] Jacob and [4] Daniel (twins), b. June 11, 1805; [4] Sarah; [4] Catharine; [4] Christina, d. July 14, 1815; [4] Elias, b. Nov. 28, 1815; [4] Samuel, b. Feb. 6, 1817; [4] John, b. May 27, 1821.

[3] Nancy Willard; b. Aug. 10, 1782; d. Aug. 26, 1783.

[3] Daniel Willard; b. Oct. 5, 1784; m., June, 1807, Elizabeth Lutter, b. April 14, 1789; d. Nov. 14, 1846. Had children, —

[4] Maria Willard; b. Oct. 14, 1808; d. in infancy.

[4] Mary Ann Willard; b. July 4, 1811; m., Oct. 29, 1833, Elie Kreigh. They now reside in Springfield, Ill., and had children, —

[5] Charles William; b. Nov. 21, 1834.
[5] Edwin Perry; b. Aug. 10, 1836.
[5] Emily Virginia; b. Sept. 5, 1839.
[5] James Willard; b. Dec. 23, 1841; d. Jan. 20, 1842.
[5] Elie Melville; b. Jan. 22, 1843.
[5] Mary Elizabeth; b. May 18, 1846.
[5] Ellen Willard; b. October, 1848.

[4] Elizabeth Willard; b. Oct. 16, 1813; m., Feb. 27, 1839, William Radcliffe, of Hagerstown, Md.; and had, —

[5] William Daniel; b. Dec. 28, 1839.
[5] Albert Stockton; b. Oct. 11, 1841.
[5] James Milton; b. Sept. 2. 1843; drowned April 19, 1847.
[5] Charles Schaeffer; b. Dec. 17, 1845.
[5] James Perry; b. Nov. 20, 1847.
[5] Frederic Conrad; b. 1850; died ——.

[4] John Perry Willard;* b. April 22, 1817; m., Dec. 5, 1839, Lydia Joanna Allen. She d. Aug. 11, 1847. Their child, —

[5] Clara Lydia; b. Aug. 2, 1841.

He married, second, Mrs. Mary Butts, in May, 1854; and has, by this marriage, —

[5] Florence May; b. May, 1855.
[5] Ida Bell; b. February, 1857.

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* Formerly of Hagerstown, Md.; now of Cumberland, Md.

[4] James Willard; * b. April 21, 1820; m., Nov. 9, 1847, [4] Susanna Willard, b. Sept. 20, 1814; daur. of [3] George, *supra*. Their children,—

[5] Sarah Ellen; b. Aug. 17, 1848.
[5] James Tilghman; b. Jan. 11, 1850.
[5] Mariana; b. April 2, 1851.
[5] Daniel; b. Dec. 17, 1852.
[5] Edwin; b. July 4, 1854.

[4] Sarah Ellen Willard; b. Nov. 14, 1828; d. March 26, 1848.

DESCENDANTS OF [2] ANNA MARIA WILLARD.

[2] ANNA MARIA WILLARD; m. George Cost.

[3] Catharine Cost; m. David Mullendore.

[3] Elizabeth Cost; m. Jacob Coleman. Had children,—

[4] George Coleman; m., first, —— House; second, Louisa Rice.
[4] David Coleman; m. Elizabeth Herbert.
[4] Joseph Coleman; m. Matilda Sieafous.
[4] Mary Coleman; m. Elijah House.
[4] John Coleman; d. young.
[4] Henry Coleman; d. young.

[3] Juliana Cost; m. John Mullendore. Their children,—

[4] Jacob Mullendore; m. Catharine Plecker.
[4] David and John; d. young.
[4] Catharine Mullendore; m. Joseph Huffer.
[4] Daniel Mullendore; m. Sophia Knode.
[4] Mary Mullendore; m. William Easton.

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* This is Dr. James Willard, my respected correspondent before referred to.

[3] MARGARET COST; m. Jacob Biser. Their children,—

Hon. [4] DANIEL S. BISER; m. Elizabeth Karn, daur. of Adam and Rosanna Karn (*ante*, p. 84); and had children,—

[5] Lucinda, [5] Anna, [5] Christopher Columbus, M. D., A. M.; [5] William Hiram, killed by the falling of a tree; [5] Benjamin Franklin, [5] Mary, [5] Matilda, [5] Thomas Benton, [5] James K. Polk.

[4] ELIZABETH BISER; b. March 24, 1804; m. George W. Grove, b. March 22, 1800; and had children,—

[5] Manasses J., b. Feb. 16, 1824; [5] Martin Franklin, b. Feb. 17, 1826; [5] Mary Margaret, m. Greenbury House; [5] Frances Elizabeth, [5] Eliza Jane, [5] Emily Christina, [5] Laura Amanda.

[4] MARY BISER; m. Mahlon Harley.

[4] GEORGE COST BISER; m. Ann E. Keller. Had children,—

[5] Henry Keller, [5] Elizabeth Margaret, [5] John Jacob, [5] Mary Genevieve, [5] George Kenneth, [5] Eugene Louis.

[4] GIDEON BISER; d. at the age of twenty-two.

[4] JOHN BISER, M.A.; grad. Jefferson College, Pa.

[3] GEORGE COST; m. Mrs. Elizabeth Dean.

[4] Elizabeth Cost (their only child); m. —— Carper, Esq., of Leesburg, Va. (*ante*, p. 82).

[3] MARY COST; m. George Whip. Their children,—

[4] Emanuel; [4] Jacob; [4] Eliza, d.; [4] George, m., first, Lydia Routzahn; second, Barbara Maught; [4] Juliana, m. Rev. Mr. Toby.

DESCENDANTS OF [2] DEWALT WILLARD.

[2] DEWALT WILLARD; m. Elizabeth Brandeburg.

[3] JOHN WILLARD; m. Phranie Kessler, and had children,—

[4] PETER WILLARD; m. Elizabeth Rice.

[4] ABRAHAM WILLARD; m. Harriet Hershberger.

[4] HAMILTON WILLARD; d. unmarried, "in the pride of youth."

[4] Mary Willard; m. Henry Shafer.
[4] Eliza Willard; m. Jacob Grove.
[4] Malinda Willard; m. [4] John Willard, son of [3] John, grandson of [2] Elias, d. of cholera, at Columbus, O., 1850.
[4] Juliana Willard; m. Daniel Grove.

[3] Abraham Willard; m. Catharine Biser. Had children, —
[4] Elizabeth Willard; m. Thomas Rice.
[4] Peter Willard; m. Martha Rice.
[4] Daniel Willard; m. Nancy Rice. He d. 1842.*
[4] Dewalt Willard; m. Elizabeth Flook.
[4] Mary Ann Willard; m. William Grove.
[4] Sarah Ann Willard; m. William Hershberger.

[3] Peter Willard; "died unmarried; though affianced, at the time of his death, to Miss Elizabeth Shafer, afterwards Mrs. Shroyer."

[3] Jacob Willard; m. Eve Grove. Had children, —
[4] Jacob Willard; m. Lucretia Getzendanner.
[4] Dewalt Willard; m.
[4] Elizabeth Willard; m. William Wiles.
[4] Juliana Willard; m. Peter Hill.
[4] Mary Willard; m. Samuel Wiles.

[3] Mary; m. Thomas Lamar.
[4] Mary Ann Lamar; m. Tilghman Biser, M.D.
[4] John Lamar; m. Rebecca Johnson.
[4] Elizabeth Lamar; m. Robert Finley.
[4] Rebecca Lamar; m. William Johnson.
[4] William Lamar; m. Elizabeth Harley.
[4] Benoni Lamar; m. Mary Thomas.
[4] Lauretta Lamar; m. Andrew Kessler, jun.
[4] Ellen Lamar.

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* "He was a respectable farmer of Middletown Valley. . . . He was driving a team, and was observed to be tottering as he sat upon his horse. He shortly dismounted, took a seat beside the road, and, before he was reached, was a corpse." — *Baltimore Sun;* copied into the "Boston Daily Advertiser" of March 24, 1842.

DESCENDANTS OF [2]CATHERINE WILLARD.

[2]CATHERINE WILLARD; m. George Poe. Had one son, [3]George Poe; and two daughters.

From the letter of Dr. Willard accompanying the chart, I make the following interesting extract in relation to his family: "As to individual peculiarities or distinguishing characteristics, a few words will suffice. There is nothing in their history to ennoble the name, or upon which one could base any pretension to an exalted pedigree. They were men, however (and I refer particularly to [1]Dewalt, his sons and grandsons), just, scrupulously honest, independent in its widest allowable signification, ready at all times to protect the weak, hating dissimulation, and speaking always as the heart would prompt. They were uneducated men; not, strictly speaking, illiterate, but without any claim to erudition. My grandfather, [2]Elias, from what I have heard respecting him, and from what I have seen of his chirography, was superior in scholarship to any of his children. For the time in which he lived (and I speak of the time as having a necessary connection with the place and persons of his home and neighbors), he was an extraordinary man. The place at that time was a wilderness; and the settlers were rude, ignorant, hardy, and removed but few degrees from savage life. The man whose rifle was the surest, and whose arm the strongest, and whose step the boldest, was the one to challenge respect and admiration; and, accordingly, there is but one name of that day which was deemed worthy to rank with the *Willard*. That name is Poe. I have heard many anecdotes of his achievements in the forest and in the ring; when he fought, not for bravado, but in defence of the injured, whose cause he had espoused; or to right his own wrongs, when circumstances and the occasion demanded. In addition to the traits above enumerated, he was possessed of a judgment of great soundness, and a variety of practical information, of such scope as

enabled him to adapt himself to every emergency with skill and readiness. Hence he acquired a pre-eminence, which brought his services into more constant requisition than any other person's in the settlement. If a bone was fractured or dislocated, he was to play the surgeon; if neighbors disputed, and would submit to arbitration, he must be the umpire; if men, on any grave occasion, would summon one another to the field, he must of necessity act second to one or other of the parties; if a neighbor, who chanced to be a little more inquiring than the rest, desired to know what was going on elsewhere in the world, at some convenient time he must read the book or newspaper. But perhaps I have said enough. Thirty-one years have flown since his body was given to the dust, and yet there remain anecdotes enough to invest his name with the romantic glitter of a legendary hero. So far as I could learn aught of the characters of the men who intermarried in the family, they were all men of humble condition. There is but one of the descendants of [1]Dewalt at this day, known to me, who has any public notoriety; and that one is [4]Daniel S. Biser, Esq. He has been repeatedly in the Legislature of Maryland; has filled the Speaker's chair of the House; and is, at this time,* a member of the Convention sitting at Annapolis to reform the Constitution of the State.

"The Willards of the present day are all men of character and respectability, although unknown to fame. Most of them are agriculturists, some are merchants, some professional, and some devoted to the mechanic arts."

THE NEWTON WILLARDS.

Besides the Maryland Willards, there is one other family in this country, whose origin has not been ascertained. They are *not* descended from Simon Willard, and I have no proof of their descent from any other son of Richard Willard.

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* December, 1850.

I will not positively say that they are not descended from George, a younger son of Richard, and brother of Simon; but I have no evidence that such is the case. George, as will be seen in the sequel, had a son Joshua, who was baptized at Scituate, by Rev. Mr. Wetherell, Nov. 2, 1645. I have no account of him after he was sealed in baptism; or of any other son besides Daniel, to whom I shall refer, under the next head, as a resident of Yarmouth, in the county of Barnstable.

For several years I was entirely at a loss with regard to this family, which I will call the Newton Willards. They were found in Newton, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, early in the last century, and continued there for many years. No account that I possessed was of an earlier date; while the members of the house in the present generation traced no further, with any distinctness, than to Jonathan Willard, a lieutenant in the Revolutionary war, who died in the town of Dudley, nearly rounding one hundred years. The grandfather of this Jonathan of the Revolution was married in Newton in 1708. I am now able to go back to the seventeenth century, and to identify the great-grandfather of Jonathan. His name was JACOB, and he was married in 1677. I have never made the genealogy of this family a subject of particular inquiry; but, while pursuing my other investigations, I have incidentally gathered some few facts, and am in the possession of a few others with which I have been furnished.* Though not numerous, they may be of some interest to the members of this house in the present generation.

[1] JACOB WILLARD; m., Oct. 23, 1677, Mary White, of Watertown, daughter of Anthony White, and Grace (Hall) his wife. Anthony, whose will bears date Nov. 16, 1685, and whose daughter Mary was living, seems to have been of Sudbury in 1640. His son-in-law, Jacob Willard, was a soldier in the Narraganset expedition in 1675. The archives of the Common-

* By Rev. William Barry, and Francis Jackson, Esq.

wealth show, under the list of those in Newton, "Jonathan Willard, for his father Jacob," among the grantees of Narraganset, No. 2.*

[2] JONATHAN, son of JACOB and Mary (White) WILLARD; b. about 1678; m., Dec. 20, 1708, Sarah Bartlett, probably the daughter of Joseph Bartlett, of Newton. Jonathan lived in Newton. He was of the Baptist persuasion, and the earliest of that faith in Newton, and nearly alone in that faith for twenty years. "He was, of course, wondered at on account of his religious views." † He was baptized Dec. 7, 1729; joined the first Baptist church in Boston about the year 1748; and died in Newton, May 22, 1772, at the advanced age of ninety-four years. His business was that of a "bloomer." His iron-works were at the Lower Falls, where he carried on business for many years. The Middlesex Registry of Deeds shows a considerable number of conveyances of real estate made by or to him between 1722 and 1754.

[3] JONATHAN, son of Jonathan and Sarah (Bartlett) WILLARD, was b. at Newton, April 29, 1710; and m. Parthenia ——. He d. at Newton, Feb. 28, 1749.

[3] SARAH, daughter of Jonathan and Sarah (Bartlett) WILLARD; b. at Newton, Sept. 3, 1711; m., in 1734, Oliver Pratt, who seems to have lived in Newton. Deed, Nathan Willard to John Stedman, 1757, Mid. Reg., vol. lv. folio 87.

[3] EPHRAIM, son of Jonathan and Sarah (Bartlett) WILLARD; b., Newton, Jan. 14, 1713; d. 1714.

[3] EPHRAIM, another son; b., Newton, Aug. 29, 1714; m., in 1737, Lydia Fuller. One of the name, probably this same Ephraim, was killed in the attack made by the British troops upon the Spaniards at Teneriffe in 1741.

[3] SAMUEL, another son; b., Newton, March 12, 1717; d. 1719.

[3] HANNAH, another daughter; b., Newton, Dec. 6, 1720; d. 1722.

[3] ZACHARIAH, another son; b., Newton, Feb. 23, 1719; d. 1720.

[3] LYDIA,‡ another daughter (?); b., Newton, 1723. One of the

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* Westminster, county of Worcester. The grant was made in 1686, and was confirmed Dec. 28, 1728. The paper in the archives, containing a list of the grantees of Narraganset, No. 2, is a copy, without date, sworn to March 23, 1751.

† Quoted by Francis Jackson, Esq., in his letter, Nov. 16, 1851.

‡ This name is given on the authority of Shattuck's History of Concord.

same name married Joseph Drury, of Natick, in 1744. She was described as of Sherburne. Another of the name married Jonathan Richardson in 1759. — *Natick Records.*

[3] SETH, another son; b., Newton, April 20, 1726.

[3] NATHAN, perhaps the youngest son of the Bartlett marriage; b., Newton, June 17, 1728; m., Nov. 16, 1752, Violetta Dix, of Watertown. He was living in 1763. In 1754, his father conveyed to him a half-part of a saw-mill and dam-right, and a right to water, &c., in Newton. There are several conveyances to and from him in the Middlesex Registry. He was a soldier in the old French war, in the campaign of 1758, and enlisted again March 25, 1760, in the army for the reduction of Canada. He was in the service also, in Captain George Lane's company, from April 24 to Nov. 15, 1762.

One of the name was in the Revolutionary army. In March, 1777, he received £24 bounty; and his family was supplied by the town from January to July, 1778. I have not the length of his service.

[3] ESTHER.* Probably the youngest daughter of the Bartlett marriage. She joined the first Baptist church in Boston.

[4] JONATHAN, son of Jonathan and Parthenia WILLARD; b. at Newton, July 2, 1738; m., April 13, 1758, Lois Hooker, of Sturbridge. At the time of his marriage, he was called of Sturbridge. He is found there in 1755. When at the age of seventeen, he was a soldier in the old French war, in the expedition against Crown Point. He fell sick at Albany, and was brought home at the expense of his master, Samuel Freeman; and being unable to work until March, 1756, his master received an allowance from the General Court for the loss of the lad's service. Jonathan afterwards removed to Dudley. He served for a long period in the Revolutionary army, and held the office of lieutenant. In term of life, as I have stated, he nearly completed a century. He left four sons and three daughters.† None of the children are found on the Sturbridge record.

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* I had some doubt, at first, of Esther's parentage; but I readily defer to the opinion of Mr. Jackson, who says, "She was, no doubt, a daughter of Jonathan, sen."

† Letter of Henry Willard, Esq., grandson to Jonathan, 1848. This was the well-known, excellent, and lamented artist, who was suddenly killed on the Boston and Maine Railroad in 1857.

[4] HEZEKIAH, son of Jonathan and Parthenia WILLARD; b., Newton, Nov. 30, 1740.

[4] EPHRAIM, son of Jonathan and Parthenia WILLARD; b., Newton, April 20, 1743.

[4] JOHN, son of Jonathan and Parthenia WILLARD; b., Newton, July 1, 1745.

[5] JONATHAN, son of Jonathan and Lois WILLARD; b., Dudley.

[5] HENRY, son of Jonathan and Lois WILLARD; b., Dudley.

[5] MARY,* daur. of Jonathan and Lois WILLARD; b., Dudley.

[5] MARTHA, daur. of Jonathan and Lois WILLARD; b., Dudley; m., Aug. 1, 1783, Aaron Albee, of Dudley.

[5] HEZEKIAH, son of Jonathan and Lois WILLARD; b., Dudley, 1773; m. Sarah Allen. He died in 1815.

[6] Hezekiah, one of his children, was born in Dudley, May 30, 1800. His parents both died when he was young, and he left Dudley. He was at one time Collector of the Port of Providence, under President Polk; and died there, before the close of Mr. Polk's administration. He resided in Providence some twenty years.†

[5] LOIS, son of Jonathan and Lois WILLARD; b., Dudley.

[5] EPHRAIM, son of Jonathan and Lois WILLARD; b. ——; m., Oct. 11, 1781, Sylvia Albee, of Dudley.‡ He settled in Charlton; had a family of thirteen children, — viz., four sons and nine daughters; all of whom, but two, lived to maturity. All of those who lived to maturity married, except one, and have all large families.§ He was with his father "most or all the time" while the former was in the Revolutionary army.‖

[5] OLIVER, son of Jonathan and Lois WILLARD; b. ——; m., May 3, 1781, Asenath Newell, both of Dudley. I insert the name of Oliver as a son of Lieutenant Jonathan on the authority of Mr. John N. Willard, of Troy, N.Y. He states that Oliver was his grandfather, and was the son of the Dudley old man, whom he sufficiently identifies, but calls him Henry instead of Jonathan. "Oliver," he says, "went to Vermont,

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* There was a Mary W. married Nathan Waldron, "both of Dudley," Aug. 1, 1783.

† Letter from his widow, June 2, 1848.

‡ Of Dudley, says the record; of Sutton, says the son.

§ Henry Willard, Esq., letter 1848. ‖ Ibid.

and settled in Windham County, town of Wardsborough. His sons were Eli, Hosea, Oliver, and Henry. All these are living, and have reared families. Eli had three sons, of whom I am the eldest." *

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* Letter of Mr. John N. Willard, December, 1848. About twenty-three years before that time, he visited his great-grandfather, who was then living in Dudley, in very old age.

CHAPTER IV.

SOME ACCOUNT OF A BROTHER AND SISTER OF SIMON WILLARD, WHO CAME TO NEW ENGLAND.

Simon Willard was not the only child of Richard who came to New England. George, another son, and Margery, a daughter, of Richard, also cast their lot with their brother Simon in the New World.

I propose now to give a very general account, first of George, and then of his sister Margery, with some of their descendants, before discoursing upon the life of Simon.

GEORGE WILLARD.

A respected relative, the late Rev. John Willard, D.D.,* of Stafford, Conn., who had paid considerable attention to the genealogy of the family, and to whose account I am indebted for numerous names and facts, wrote as follows in the early part of the present century; viz., —

"There was one, at least, of the name, who formerly lived in New England, who was a collateral branch of the ancient family. Residing at Yarmouth, on Cape Cod, in the beginning of the year 1755, I was informed by the people there that there had been some of our name in those parts, particularly Mr. Daniel Willard, who married Mrs. Hester Matthews, but left no issue; and a sister of the said Daniel, who was married to a Captain Sears. They had

* He died at Stafford, Feb. 16, 1807, at the age of seventy-four years, — a venerable servant of God, faithful and devoted in his station as a Christian minister for a term of nearly fifty years. He was the eldest surviving brother of Rev. Joseph Willard, D.D., President of Harvard College, who died in 1804.

three sons and three daughters, who (if I do not misremember) were all married, and all had a large number of children. Their posterity are very numerous; and all their descendants, living and deceased, amounted, in the year 1755, probably to two or three hundred.

"This Mr. Daniel Willard and his sister came, as I was informed, from Maryland, and settled at Yarmouth, on Cape Cod. They said they were cousins-german to my great-grandfather, Rev. Samuel Willard, of Boston. What their father's Christian name was I did not learn."

The information that Dr. Willard obtained at Yarmouth was correct. This Daniel, and his sister, whose name was Deborah, were cousins-german of Rev. Samuel Willard, and grandchildren of Richard. Their father was George Willard, who was some ten years younger* than his brother Simon. I have not the time of his arrival in New England. I do not know whether he came over with his brother, or afterwards.† I find him in Scituate, in Plymouth Colony, Feb. 1, 1638–9, where, with twenty others, including Mr. William Vassall, — all of Scituate, — he took the oath of "allegiance to the king, and fidelity to Plymouth Colony." He probably never took the freeman's oath, as no portion was assigned to him in the division of lands while he remained in Scituate. He is named on the record in 1643 as one of those of that town, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, "able to beare armes." The principal, if not the only incident in his life, now known to me, is one connected with the religious controversy that raged with violence while he resided in Scituate.

At this time, the Rev. Mr. Chauncy, a clergyman greatly distinguished for his intellectual powers and attainments,

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* Baptized at Horsmonden, December, 1614.

† I have an impression, the origin of which I cannot at present recall, that he came over at or about the same time with his brother; and that they both, with Davis, who married their sister, were at Cambridge at the same time. My highly esteemed friend, the late Dr. Farmer, remarked upon this contemporaneous residence at Cambridge, in a letter to me, October, 1828.

and afterwards the successful President of Harvard College, adhering to the letter of the law, and not weighing the laws of health, refused to baptize infants except by immersion.* Matters relating to the church, more than all else, engrossed the minds of men in our early settlements. The nicest technical points, touching upon no question of faith or conscience, were argued with a zeal, and were pressed with an intenseness, unknown to the present day. They were deemed to be of vital importance; and woe to the individual who attempted to breast the general current!

The peculiar views of Mr. Chauncy caused a division of opinion in his church, and a sharp and angry controversy between him and Mr. William Vassall,— a gentleman of large intelligence, who was then a leading man in Scituate. It is beside my subject to enter into any detail upon this controversy: let it suffice to say, that it gave rise to a second church, of which the Rev. Mr. Witherell became the pastor, and which adhered to the customary mode of baptism by sprinkling.†

In this controversy, George Willard took sides with Vassall. Whether he had any leaning towards episcopacy, which seems to have been charged upon Vassall, I cannot say; but it is pretty evident that he did not possess that clearly defined Puritan spirit which prevailed in the Massachusetts Colony. He was a young man, possessed of a bold tongue, and perhaps was of a somewhat heady temperament. His directness of speech caused him to be arraigned, or "convented," before the General Court in Plymouth

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* Mr. Chauncy "practised first upon two of his own children; which being in very cold weather, one of them swooned away. Another, having a child about three years old, feared it would be frightened (as others had been; and one caught hold of Mr. Chauncy, and had near pulled him into the water). She brought her child to Boston, with letters testimonial from Mr. Chauncy, and had it baptized there." — *Winthrop's History of New England*, under date of 1642.

† See "Deane's History of Scituate." Mr. Deane has stated the controversy at length. I am indebted to him for the account of George Willard, at Scituate, previous to my own examination of the record; and I cherish his kindly nature with affectionate regard.

Colony, June 1, 1641, to answer for his expressions. The record runs in this wise; viz.,—

"Georg. Willerd of Scittuate, planter, for his contemptuous wordes, proued vpon oath, in saying that they were fooles & knaues and gulls that payd the rate, or words to that effect, and other p'phane & vngodly speeches against the churches, likewise prooued by diūs oathes, — viz in saying that the churches here & in the Bay held forth a deuelish practise, in that they did not baptise children, & other words to that effect; and also, being demaunded his answere why he did so say, did very contumeliously aske the assistants, or some of them in pticuler, why they did not take the oath of supremacy before they entred vpon their plac[s] yesterday, — was therefore to be bound to his good behaū. Georg. Willerd of Scittuate, planter, oweth the King &c xl[li] Thomas Chambers, of the same, plant[r], xx[li] John Twisden, of the same, plant[r], xx[li], — to be levyed of euery one of their goods, cattells, &c. if he fayle in the condicōn followinge: — The condicōn of, &c; That if the said Georg. Willerd shall appeare at the next Geñall Court of our said soūaigne lord the Kinge, to answere to all such matters as on his ma[ties] behalf shalbe objected against him conc[r]ning his contumelious speeches, &c, and abide the further order of the Court, and not dēpt the same w[th]out lycenc.; and in the meane tyme to be of the good behaū towards our said soūaigne lord the King, and all his leigh people; that then, &c." *

There were no further proceedings at the next or at any subsequent session of the General Court. The prosecution was abandoned. In the margin of the record of June 1 is written the word "released." Why he was discharged does not appear. It may have been from the fact that there was a division in the church upon the mode of infant-baptism; while the question put by Willard to the assistants may have been considered more venial, especially as the Plymouth Colony never seemed ambitious of aiming at independent powers, or even of assuming questionable juris-

* He had been bound over at the Court of Assistants, May 3, 1641, to appear at this session of the General Court. Thomas Chambers, Dolor Davis, — brother-in-law of George Willard, and the husband of Margery Willard, — and John Twisden, of Scituate, planters, were his sureties.

diction. It was fortunate for George Willard that he resided in that Colony, and that he was not "convented" on either of those charges before the Court of Assistants or the General Court in the Bay, where "seditious speeches," or an intimation that there was a higher authority than the Commonwealth to which the subject owed allegiance, and could appeal, would pretty surely be visited with a punishment, at the very least, adequate to the offence.

The settlement of Mr. Witherell was a source of great comfort to those who were opposed to Mr. Chauncy's course. After long and painstaking effort, conducted with great deliberation, they carried their point, and had the ordinance of baptism administered according to their own views. Mr. Witherell was settled Sept. 2, 1645; and, the next Sunday week, George Willard presented two of his children for baptism, and a third seven weeks after.

Deborah,	daughter	of	George	Willard,	baptized	Sept.	14,	1645.
Daniel,	son	„	„	„	„	„	„	„
Joshua,*	„	„	„	„	„	Nov.	2,	1645.

By William Witherell.

I have no record of the marriage of George Willard. I can only judge, from the interest he took in the controversy with Mr. Chauncy, which began in 1641, and from the fact that he was the father of three children in 1645, that his marriage must, at the least, date back to the beginning of that controversy.

The views he entertained may have led him naturally enough to Scituate, as being within a jurisdiction which, either from accident, or from want of power, or from having passed through severer trials, was somewhat more tolerant of what was considered error than the larger Colony of Massachusetts.

Scituate contained a very considerable number of inhabi-

* This baptism is mentioned by Mr. Deane in his letter of September, 1827. It is not noted, with the two others, in his History of Scituate.

tants, natives of Kent, — Cobb, Chittenden, Foster, Lewis, Lombard, Preble, Starr, Tilden, and others, — among the laymen, whose worthy minister, Rev. Mr. Lathrop,* had been previously settled in Egerton, in that county, — some twelve miles only from George's birthplace. Several of the planters removed to Barnstable; others to Rhode Island, — as Johnson, New, Perry, and Ingham; several removed to Georgiana (York), — as Preble, Twisden, and others. We are not told the reason of these various removals, whether for enlarged accommodations in land, or to escape a condition in the society of the town, made uncomfortable by the bitterness of religious contention. However this may have been, Willard left with others; and nothing further is heard concerning him, except what we gather from the Yarmouth statement, touching the place whence his children emigrated, — that he removed to the Colony of Maryland, which had already taken shape under the auspices of Lord Baltimore.†

Whether George had any other children besides Deborah, Daniel, and Joshua; when and where he died; whether Daniel was more than once married; and whether Joshua lived to maturity, was married, and left issue, — I have no knowledge. So far as *now* appears, the male descendants died with Daniel. Some accidental discoveries — such as frequently occur in genealogical investigations, but which cannot be anticipated — might at once prove or disprove this suggestion.

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* He removed from Scituate to Barnstable, with a portion of his people, in 1639. This was after Willard had taken up his residence in the former place.

† In 1682, there was "George Willard, of Warre, in the county of Sussex, yeoman," named among the first purchasers of Philadelphia, from the proprietary, William Penn, and "probably one of the two hundred settlers taken out by Penn from the county of Sussex. His land, consisting of twenty acres in Chestnut Street and Seventh Street, was surveyed in 1684–5." — *Explanation of the Map of the City of Philadelphia, by John Reed;* Philadelphia, 1774. "Penn made large sales among his neighbors in Sussex, England; many of whom changed their minds as to emigrating to Pennsylvania, and sold out their rights to others." — *Letter of J. Francis Fisher, Esq., of Philadelphia,* Oct. 11, 1844. I have made no further inquiry to ascertain whether George Willard was of this number.

With my present information, I must rest content with finding Deborah and Daniel, after a residence in Maryland of uncertain duration, — but whether during the lifetime of their parents, I am unable to say, — turning with willing steps to their native land and near kinsmen in the North country, and taking up their residence in the town of Yarmouth. I have no means of determining the time of this return, unless it can be shown that Deborah was the first wife of Captain Sears; in which case, the Northern progress must have been as early as 1658.*

We find that —

Daniel Willard,† baptized Sept. 14, 1645, married, at Yarmouth, June 10, 1695, Esther (or Hester) Matthews, daughter, probably, of James Matthews, of Yarmouth, where she was born Jan. 8, 1650–1. Daniel Willard died at Yarmouth, April 20, 1712, *s. p.* His widow died June 28, 1726.

Deborah Willard, baptized Sept. 14, 1645, married Paul Sears, of Yarmouth, son of "Richard Sears, the pilgrim."

The descendants of this marriage are very numerous upon the Cape and elsewhere. "Robert Sears, of New York, the great publisher of pictorial works, is a descendant of Paul Sears." ‡

A branch of the Homer family is descended from George Willard and Richard Sears. Captain John Homer, who was born in Great Britain in 1647, and died in Boston,

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* Captain Sears's first child was born July 3, 1659. — *Letter of James Otis, Esq.*, June 29, 1847.

† "The fact that a number of James Matthews's sons removed to Cape May adds some strength to your supposition that George Willard went to Maryland. It may account for the manner in which Daniel became known to Esther." — *Letter of Amos Otis, Esq.*

Daniel Willard's house was at the "Weir Village," formerly called "Bass Ponds."

‡ Ibid. Willard is very common as a Christian name in families, and generally designates one of the lines of descent. It is common in the Sears family.

Nov. 1, 1717, married, July 15, 1693, Margery Stephens, and had issue six sons and two daughters. Their second son, [2]Benjamin, born in Boston, May 8, 1698, married, Dec. 22, 1721, Elizabeth, daughter of John Crowell, and Bethia Sears his wife; and had six sons and three daughters. Bethia was grand-daughter of Richard Sears and George Willard (of course, the daughter of Paul Sears, and Deborah Willard his wife). [3]Benjamin Homer, third son of [2]Benjamin, was born in Yarmouth, Aug. 5, 1731; and married, Oct. 23, 1759, Mary, daughter of Bryant Parrott, and Ruth Wadsworth his wife; and had issue one son and four daughters. [4]Benjamin Parrott Homer, their only son, was born in Boston, June 30, 1761; and married, April 1, 1790, Abigail, daughter of David Pearce, of Gloucester, and Bethia Ingersoll his wife. Mr. Homer died April 4, 1838. He had nine children. Three survived him: viz., [5]Fitzhenry, who married Nancy Bradford, daughter of the Hon. James D'Wolf; [5]Mary B., who married Thomas Dixon, "Knight of the Order of the Lily, and of the Order of the Netherlands Lion;" [5]Georgiana Albertina, who married Philo Strong Shelton.*

The descendants of Paul and Deborah (Willard) Sears are very numerous. Among those of the present day may be named Rev. Barnas Sears, formerly Professor at the Baptist Theological Seminary at Newton, Mass., and Secretary of the Board of Education, and now President of Brown University; Rev. Daniel Sears, of Louisiana; Rev. Edmund Hamilton Sears, of Wayland, author of that very agreeable work entitled "Pictures of the Olden Time;" Philip H. Sears, Esq., of Boston, counsellor-at-law; Robert Sears, the extensive publisher at New York; and other respectable men, to whom have been transmitted the good qualities of earlier generations.

Hon. David Sears, of Boston, is descended from Kynvet Sears, the elder brother of Paul.

* See note to the Homers, signed "B. H. D.," in Bridgman's Inscriptions in King's Chapel Burial-Ground, Boston.

Richard Sears, the "pilgrim," the father of Kynvet and Paul, was "son of John Bourchier Sears and Marie L. van Egmont, in lineal descent from Richard Sears, of Colchester, and Ann Bourchier Knyvet. He was driven by persecution from his native land, and sought refuge among the pilgrims in Holland. He united with them in their bold attempt to find a home and a country in the New World, and landed at Plymouth in 1630. He married Dorothy Thacher, and died in Yarmouth in 1676."

After I had cast into tabular form the names of divers of the descendants of Paul and Knyvet, I found in the second edition of the "Pictures" the "Genealogical and Biographical Sketches of the Ancestry and Descendants of Richard Sears, the Pilgrim." I would refer to these genealogies for a full account of the descendants of Paul and Deborah (Willard) Sears.

Though the time of the death of GEORGE WILLARD is not known, it may be reasonable to assume its occurrence as early as 1659, when his daughter Deborah was married to Paul Sears. At this period, young persons like Daniel and Deborah Willard — both, perhaps, under age — would not be found wandering from distant Maryland, the probable residence of their father, to their native land in Plymouth Colony, unless that residence had been interrupted and broken up by the father's death. — *See* p. 104.

MARGERY WILLARD.

In relation to Simon Willard's sister, the Rev. Dr. John Willard wrote as follows; viz., "A sister of our progenitor, Major Simon Willard, came with him to New England. Her name was Margery.* She was married to Captain Dolour† Davis, of Barnstable, in the Colony of Plymouth. He lived

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* Not the precise orthography given by Dr. Willard; but it is the true name.

† Davis's Christian name is variously spelt in the old records.

afterwards at Concord, Mass. In younger life, I was acquainted with several of their descendants. Some lived in Concord, Mass.; some in Bristol, State of Rhode Island; some in Marlborough, Mass.; &c. They are, I suppose, considerably numerous; scattered probably, as other large families, into various parts of New England. A family by the name of Hall, descended from this sister of our ancestor, lived in Charlestown, Mass. When I was a youth, Rev. Willard Hall, of Westford, near Concord, was one of that family. He was graduated at Cambridge in the year 1722. I am not able to give a particular account of this ancient couple, Captain Davis and his wife."

Mrs. Davis came over with her brother, and arrived at Boston in May, 1634. Her husband also came over in the same fleet. She was born at Horsmonden, probably in the year 1602. She was baptized there Nov. 6, 1602.

Simon Willard, his sister Margery, and her husband, Captain Davis, were all at Cambridge in the summer of 1634. Davis had a house-lot on Water Street. On this spot Simon Willard lived, I suppose, until his removal to Concord. They owned contiguous *out-lands* on the west side of Charles River; Willard having one hundred acres there, with a house upon it. This land, which bounded south on "Boston Bounds," he sold in August, 1635, when he was preparing to go to Concord. Davis sold his *out-lot* at the same time; and perhaps removed thence to Scituate in the Old Colony, where we find him with his brother-in-law, George Willard, early in 1639. Some portion of his life, as stated, was passed in Concord, where he had lands granted in 1659. Barnstable was incorporated in 1639, and Davis is found there in 1640.* He was one of the grand inquest of Plymouth Colony in 1645; and, the next year, was admitted freeman. In 1652, he was one of the surveyors of highways in Barnstable, and constable in 1654. He was one of

* This year the Plymouth Court of Assistants granted him fifty acres of upland at Namassacuset River, with a proportion of meadow.

the petitioners for Groton, and also one of the eight gentlemen appointed in 1655 to be the selectmen "for two years from the time it is laid out." He and others, calling themselves "inhabitants of Groton," in 1656, in a petition dated at Boston, request the General Court to appoint a new surveyor, and ask exemption from taxation for three years; all which was granted. They, indeed, called themselves "inhabitants;" but I think that they were so only by a very liberal intendment of law. Davis, it is probable, never lived in Groton: his name is not in the town-record of inhabitants, nor is he mentioned as a proprietor of land. He became identified with Barnstable, and there spent most of the years of his pilgrimage on this side of the water. He, with "his sonns," is on the list of "males that are able to beare armes from xvi. yeares old to 60 yeares," in that town, in the year 1643. This fact determines his marriage to have taken place in England at least as early as 1625–6, — a long time before his coming to America.

Captain Davis survived his wife Margery; and died in 1673, at an advanced age. His son John, the sole executor of his father's will, took out ancillary administration in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. The real and personal estate "within the bounds of Concord" was appraised at £125. 5s. 7d. His principal estate, I presume, was in Barnstable. I have no note of the time when Mrs. Margery Davis died; and only know the fact, that she died before her husband, from the order of the Plymouth Court directing Mr. Hinckley to take the oath of Mrs. *Joannah* Davis, the widow, to the inventory of her husband's estate at Barnstable. The inventory bears date 19th June, 1673.

There were three sons of this ancient couple, — John, Simon, and Samuel; and one daughter, Ruth. I have no further account of John, except that he was intrusted by his father with the sole executorship of his will, and was surveyor of highways in Barnstable in 1656, 1671, 2, 5, and 1677. Simon and Samuel, who settled in Concord, "were the fruitful vines," says Shattuck, "whose numerous

branches extend over this and Worcester Counties, and part of New Hampshire, and are constantly sending forth new and flourishing shoots."* The Davis *gens* has become a host, and is scattered in name and blood over the land in an extended array. Many individuals might be named who have well sustained their relations to society, and have died leaving a precious memory. Among others may be named the family of Deacon Isaac Davis, of Rutland and Northborough, which has furnished in Massachusetts a worthy Governor of the Commonwealth, Senator in Congress, State Senators, &c. The genealogist of the family will gather largely from every side, and find much worthy to record in his long catalogue of names.

In 1663, Ruth Davis, the only daughter, so far as I am aware, of the American progenitor, became the wife of Stephen Hall, then of Concord, afterwards of Stow† and Medford, and perhaps of Plainfield, Conn.‡

Stephen and Ruth Hall had seven or more children. Of these, two were sons: viz., Samuel, who lived in Stow, born in Concord, Dec. 8, 1665; and Stephen, first of Medford, and afterwards of Charlestown, where he died Nov. 8, 1749. This last Stephen was the father of, 1st, Captain Stephen Hall, a distinguished merchant in Boston; born Nov. 5, 1693; died Feb. 24, 1773, æt. eighty; who by his second marriage, with Elizabeth, daughter of Josiah Saunders, had one child, Elizabeth, who was born in 1737, and was married to William Gray in 1759. She was mother of the late Rev. Dr. Gray, of Jamaica Plains, at whose house she died, Dec. 24, 1825; and grandmother of Hon. George Eustis, H.U. 1815, at one time Chief Justice of Louisiana.§ 2d, Of Grace Hall,

* Shattuck's Concord, 368. See also an unpretending little volume, entitled the "History of Rutland," by Jonas Reed, 1836, in which the author gives a detailed account of several of the Davis family, who settled in Rutland, and of very many of their descendants.

† Stephen Hall, representative from Stow in 1689.

‡ In a deed, February, 1692, he describes himself "of Medford, late of Stow." His acknowledgment was taken at Plainfield in Connecticut, September, 1714.

§ Bridgman, King's Chapel Burial-Ground Inscriptions.

who married, May, 1715, Isaac Parker, of Charlestown; born there in 1692, and died there Nov. 1, 1742. They were the grandparents of the Hon. Isaac Parker, — that most genial man, the late learned and excellent Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts; and the great-grandparents of the late General Eustis, of the United-States army. 3d, Of Esther, who married Peter Edes, of Charlestown, in December, 1729. 4th, Of Rev. Willard Hall, born ——; graduated at Harvard College in 1722; and was the first minister of Westford, Mass., where he died in 1779. His wife was Abigail, daughter of John Cotton, of Plymouth. 5th, Of Ruth Hall, who married Thomas Symmes, of Charlestown.

Rev. Willard Hall had seven daughters, six* of whom were married, and three sons: viz., 1st, Rev. Stephen, born about 1744; graduated at Harvard College in 1765, in the same class with his distant cousins, Rev. Joseph Willard, afterwards President of the College; and another Rev. Joseph Willard, afterwards minister of Mendon and Boxborough in Massachusetts. This Stephen Hall was never settled in the ministry. He was tutor at Cambridge, and a Fellow of the College. On leaving his tutorship, he took up his residence in Portland, Me. He there became a strenuous separatist, — strenuous for the separation of Maine from Massachusetts; and was a delegate to the Convention convened upon that subject in 1785. He died in 1795, leaving one son and two daughters. 2d, Willard, who died in early life. 3d, Willis, who lived in Westford, and had four daughters and three sons: viz., 1st, Hon. Willard Hall, born at Westford, Dec. 24, 1780; graduated at Harvard College in 1799; studied law in Groton, from 1801 to 1803, with the late Judge Samuel Dana; and pursued his profession with distinguished reputation in the State of Delaware, where, for many years, he has acceptably filled the office of

* One m. Mr. Abbott, of Billerica. Elizabeth m., first, Caleb Symmes; second, Benjamin Fletcher. Abigail m. Jonas Minot. Grace m. Benjamin Whiting. Ann m. Leonard Whiting. Martha m. Richard Kneeland.

Judge of the United-States District Court. His daughter is the wife of Dr. R. R. Porter, of Wilmington, Del. They have five children. 2d, William C. Hall, a well-known bookseller, whose principal residence is London. He is unmarried. 3d, Benjamin Hall, who has one child, a daughter, the wife of Daniel Needham, of Groton.

Judge Hall retains a lively and grateful recollection of his early life in Massachusetts, and passes a warm eulogium on the intelligence of her people, and their love of enlightened and well-regulated liberty, resting upon the solid foundation of Christian principles transmitted from former generations. He also speaks "of the Rev. Dr. Willard, the venerable President of Harvard University;" and adds, "I have a lively recollection of him, and through association of men and scenes to which distance lends enchantment. Among the last favors which I received on leaving Massachusetts was a testimonial from him of my character and standing, manifesting great kindness, given upon my application through my tried friend Levi Hedge." — *Letters*, Jan. 20 and March 15, 1854.

CHAPTER V.

THE COUNTY OF KENT, AND THE PARISH OF HORSMONDEN IN THAT COUNTY.

As the county of Kent contributed its share to the early population of New England, and very largely to those principles of civil liberty, which, underlying our institutions, have become our cherished inheritance ; as it was also the birthplace of the first of the American family, and of his ancestors probably for several generations,—a brief description of its distinctive features will form an appropriate introduction to the biographical sketch which follows.

As " God sifted a whole nation that he might send choice grain over into this wilderness " (New England), so there was a mighty sifting of various tribes for that grain which was to ripen in Old England into the liberty, civilization, and power of the present day.

Whatever may have been the original population of the island, history, in its earliest approach to distinctness, traces the migrations of tribes from Asia into Europe. Preceding all other tribes, we find the Kimmerians, from the Euxine, — known afterwards to the Romans as the Kimbri, — entering Europe perhaps ten centuries before the Christian era. In their course westward, they finally crossed over to England, and have left traces which are strongly marked in the modern Welsh.

About the seventh century before the Christian era, they were followed by a kindred tribe called the Kelts ; overrunning Spain and Gaul, and establishing their power in many parts of Western Europe. The Kelts, at last, invaded England, and became firmly seated in the island, particu-

larly in Kent and Sussex, which, from their contiguity to the continent, and the attractions of the climate, were temptations too strong for the invaders to resist. The evidence still existing of a common language testifies to the prevalence of this race upon the island.

After the lapse of several hundred years, the Teutones abandoned their homes on the shores of the Caspian Sea, and poured into Europe in successive streams.* They extended their sway from Norway on the north to France on the south, and Russia and Poland on the east; sweeping into their folds all of Germany, Belgium, Holland, and the Netherlands. Scandinavians, Franks, Danes, Norwegians, Norse or Northmen, were all from the same stout barbaric stock. Separated from their ancient neighbors by centuries in time, and by distance of habitation, they became, and ever since have remained, a distinct people from the Kelts, — distinct in national characteristics and in language.

From the Teutones sprang the Belgæ, who colonized the southerly part of the island a few centuries before Christ, and whose language formed the basis of the Anglo-Saxon. Though of Teutonic descent, from their long residence on the left bank of the Rhine they had become partially Keltic. They brought over with them a good degree of civilization for that age, and the earliest refining influences, — a light shining in a dark place. Cæsar remarks upon the southerly part of the island, as in striking contrast with the interior, which was wholly rude and barbarous. Kent was "the civilest place of all our isle," and so continued during the whole term of Roman domination.

Then came the Saxons (Sacæ), another branch of the Teutones; incited, probably, by the victorious course of the tribes which had preceded them. On leaving the shores of the Caspian Sea, they soon extended themselves from the

* At a much later period the Sclaves entered Europe, and, proceeding by gradual stages, cast their lines over Russia, Poland, Bohemia, and the neighboring territories, until they were arrested in their westward career by the victorious Charlemagne.

Elbe to the Weser, the Ems, the Rhine, and the Rhone. The near kindred of the Saxons, the Jutes from Jutland, under Hengist and Horsa, aided by their friends the Angles, began the conquest of Kent in the year 449; and were followed, in 477, by Ella the Saxon, who established the kingdom of the South Saxons in Sussex and Surrey. It is accurate enough to call these various tribes Saxons: they were all kindred in race, and all had the same distinctive traits.

From the earliest period when the Saxons became known to history for their piratical depredations, they were equally well known for their great bravery, and recklessness of danger. Their blue eyes, fair complexion, and sunny locks, gave the lie to their fierce nature. They were proud of their noble forms, proud of their ancient descent, and therefore very unwilling to mingle their blood by intermarrying with other races.

Little did the Romans dream, in their declining empire, that these rude masses would be moulded into one harmonious whole, possessing the aggregate of the world's best thought and highest refinement. But from these rude masses, in the lapse of time, — by means of their insular position, their ancestral bravery and independent spirit, and from a combination of circumstances, some of which we may understand, while others elude all power of analysis, — have issued the progressive, persistent, conquering Anglo-Saxon race, the faithful guardians of individual and public liberty in Europe, and the parent of all that is liberal among their descendants in the New World. "From such ancestors," says Turner in somewhat exulting tone, "a nation has, in the course of twelve centuries, been formed, which, inferior to none in every moral and intellectual merit, is superior to every other in the love and possession of useful liberty; a nation which cultivates, with equal success, the elegancies of art, the ingenious labors of industry, the energies of war, the researches of science, and the richest productions of genius."

Though the Danes twice held strong possession of the island, they left but little impression upon the nation; and the more refined Normans, though permanent conquerors, "introduced but a slight Keltic tincture into the Teutonic blood of the Saxons." The Normans were not half French, "and the French themselves but half Gauls."

The county of Kent,* in area equal to one-fifth of Massachusetts, in population exceeding half a million of souls, attractive for its beautiful and ever-changing scenery, its clusters and ranges of hills, and the variety of its verdure, is also "regarded as one of the most interesting counties in England, considered in respect to the advantage of its situation for trade and commerce, its extent, the important events that have been transacted within its limits, the peculiar divisions of its lands, its numerous antiquities, the acknowledged bravery of its inhabitants, the ecclesiastical pre-eminence of its chief city, its produce, or its proximity to the continent, to which many learned antiquaries suppose it was originally united by a narrow isthmus extending between Dover and Calais.†

Kent is divided into five lathes: viz., Sutton-at-Hone, Aylesford, Scray, St. Augustine, and Shepway; into sixty-eight hundreds; ‡ and into four hundred and three parishes, and three parts of parishes.§

Lambard, writing in the latter part of the sixteenth century, speaks of the revenues of Kent as being greater than anywhere else. "The gentlemen, for the most part, are acquainted with good letters, and especially trained in the knowledge of the laws." They also attend much to the cul-

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* From the British word "caint," — according to some antiquarians, — which is still the Welsh name, and is descriptive of a county abounding with clear, fair, or open downs.

† Hasted.

‡ A "hundred" contains a hundred families of freeholders.

§ Parishes were originally coincident with towns or tithings. At the present day, by the increase of population, there may be a number of parishes in the same town. So with us they were coincident, being both an ecclesiastical and civil division.

tivation of their lands. "The yeomanry," he remarks, "is nowhere more free and jolly." An old writer says that "the forward in all battels belongeth to them by a certeine pre-eminence in right of their manhood. It is agreed by all men that there were never any bondmen or villeins,* as the law calleth them, in Kent. Copyhold† and customary tenures are rare, and tenant-right ('a discent of a tenancie-at-will') is unknown there; . . . but in place of these, the custome of gavelkind prevailing everywhere, in manner every man is a freeholder, and has some part of his own to live upon. . . . It is the preservative *of the estate of the old franklyns and yeomen of England.*"

By the tenure of gavelkind, which Turner says existed among the ancient Britons, lands were held by rent in opposition to land subject to military tenure. They descended equally to all the male children; and, should the father survive his male children, they descended to his grandsons, if any, or else to his daughters. Brothers inherited to a deceased brother; and nephews and nieces, agreeably to the same rule, took the portion of their parent by right of representation.

The right of sole succession was introduced at the Conquest, and all England, except Kent, came under the feudal system; according to which, the king and the lords owned the land, and the rest of the subjects were mere serfs, or bondsmen. It is an old story, that the men of Kent were never vanquished by William; that, with arms in their hands, they offered to him "peace, with their faithfull obedience," if he would permit them to enjoy their ancient Saxon liberties; "warre, and that most deadly," should he deny

* Villains were either annexed to the manor or land, and could only be transferred with it; or were annexed to the person of the lord, and could be transferred by deed. The children were in the same state of bondage with their parents. The gradual process by which villains became free is an interesting portion of English history.

† A tenure of land, originally at the will of the lord of the manor, evidenced by a copy of the rolls of the Courts Baron. It was a tenure in villainage; but now, of copyhold estates, some are for life, and others descend by inheritance.

them; and that William acceded to these conditions. This is a very pleasant story, but it is mythical. It was unknown to the more ancient writers. The men of Kent did, indeed, retain their ancient and peculiar liberties, and their position in battle in the first line; but it was by their policy in yielding a ready submission to the Conqueror, and not by threatened resistance. Lingard quotes from an old author, "Occurrunt ultro Cantuarii haud procul a Doverâ, jurant fidelitatem dant obsides."*

Besides the rules of descent, Kent retained other privileges in gavelkind. Thus, upon the felony of the tenant, the lands did not escheat to the king or lord paramount, nor did the wife lose her right of dower. The widow, so long as she continued unmarried and chaste, was entitled to dower in a moiety of her husband's lands possessed at the coverture or during marriage. The tenant might alien his land at the age of fifteen years. Thus the people of Kent were secured in their free tenures at a period when the other English subjects were held in a state of hereditary bondage; and the lords of manors could claim, recover, and transfer the persons of villains in the same way as their houses or chattels.

Statutes were made in the reign of Henry VII., and in several subsequent reigns, for the purpose of changing the customary descent, or for "disgavelling," as it was termed. A considerable number of estates were disgavelled in this way: but "the continual change of property; the extinction of the Court of Wards, and of the Inquisitiones post mortem; the want of knowledge where records are deposited, and the great expense of searching for them; the difficulty of proving what estates the persons named in the disgavelling statutes were seized of at the time of making them; together with that of showing what lands were formerly

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* History of England, vol. ii. p. 6. Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. ii. p. 84, Mr. Chitty's note. Pictorial History of England, vol. i. p. 38. Hume also speaks of their submission.

subject to military tenures, which has daily increased since their abolition, — have occasioned difficulties so accumulated and so insurmountable, that the landholders entitled to the benefit of those acts wave their privilege, and suffer their lands to pass in common with those of their neighbors, rather than enter into a labyrinth of litigation and cost." "The consequence is," says Robinson, "that, at this time, there is almost as much land in the county of Kent, subject to the control of the custom of gavelkind, as there was before the disgavelling statutes were enacted."

There was no trial by battle* or by grand assize† in Kent; but the mode of trial was by a jury of twelve men, tenants in gavelkind. "It is sufficient," says ancient Lambard, "for a man to avoid the objection of bondage, to say that his father was born in the shire of Kent."

The number of freeholders is stated by Hasted at about nine thousand, independent of the large estates of the churches of Canterbury and Rochester, and of various corporate bodies. The general distribution of the freeholds, and their close intermixture with each other, occasioned, in a former day, "a frequent intercourse between the gentry and yeomen."‡

I have been the more particular in describing the mode of tenure in Kent, because of its importance to us in our own institutions. The ancient liberties of Kent became the foundation on which the illustrious fabric of our own liberties in this Commonwealth has been reared. The charter of the

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* The trial by battle was limited to three cases, — one military, the second criminal, and the last civil. It was a personal combat, fought by a champion on each side. The party for whom the defeated champion appeared suffered the same punishment as he would have suffered if a verdict of a jury had been rendered against him.

† Instead of the trial of a writ of right for the recovery of an estate in fee-simple, a statute of Henry II. gave the tenant or defendant the option to have the trial by the grand assize. Four knights were returned by the sheriff, and they selected twelve other persons. These sixteen constituted the jury, which was called "the grand assize."

‡ See Dugdale's New British Traveller, art. "Kent;" Lambard's Perambulation of Kent, ed. 1596, pp. 12–15, 28–9, 566–7, *et seq.;* Hasted's Kent, &c.

Colony, obtained at a most lucky moment, — indeed, it could hardly have been obtained at a later period, — secured the territory to the company, "to be held of the king, his heirs and successors, as of his manor of East Greenwich, in the county of Kent, in free and common socage, and not *in capite*, nor by knight's service." The same tenure, it is true, was established by the patent to the Council at Plymouth, in the eighteenth year of the reign of James I.; but then Charles would not have confirmed the similar grant to the Massachusetts Colony, could he have looked into the future of a few years only, and have seen to what his act would lead. The tenure would have been limited, — hedged in with restrictions, — or else would have been changed to some other; just as the provision in the Colony Charter for the northern boundary of the patent, three miles to the northward of the river Merrimack, "*or to the northward of any and every part thereof*," was altered in the Province Charter by striking out or omitting this latter clause.

The lands in Massachusetts were to every real purpose allodial, though in theory held by feudal tenure. Allodial lands were held of no superior; no fealty was owing for them; and they descended to all the children equally. This was universally the case in Europe after the downfall of the Roman empire until the introduction of the feudal system. The great benefit of socage-tenure consisted in the certain and determinate services that were rendered in the way of rent, though it was encumbered with several of the exactions incident to the tenure by knight's service. In feudal times, all the lands were considered as held by grant from the king, either mediately or immediately; the tenant having merely the usufruct, or profits of the soil, with no right to the soil itself. Gavelkind is generally regarded as a species of socage-tenure, though free from all feudal incidents. The Massachusetts Charter conveyed the territory to the patentees in "free and common socage," with a determinate rent or fealty, limited to one "fifth part only of all ore of gold and silver which from time to time,

and at all times hereafter, shall there be gotten, had, or obtained for all *services*, *exactions*, and *demands* whatsoever." Our tenures were thus feudal in name; the king being the lord paramount, and the freemen of the company possessing, in theory, only the usufruct of the land. A feoffment in fee, as its name imports, was but a usufructuary interest. The tenant had no right of alienation: the heirs took as such; and the land, in default of heirs, reverted to the lord. Our ancestors, says Hutchinson (vol. i. 395), "strangely supposed that socage-tenure included all the properties and customs of gavelkind." Whether he proves this by his single quotation, which shows that the commission of a felony did not attaint the blood, and prevent the descent of property, it is hardly necessary to inquire; but it is very certain that our ancestors, at an early day, abolished the common-law rules of descent, which applied as well to socage-tenures as tenures in chief. They made provision for an equal distribution of property among all the children, with the exception of allowing to the eldest son a double share, according to the Jewish code; and, at the same time, they carried out the idea of the charter, and swept off every incident of feudal tenure that would be a burthen to the possession and transmission of real estate. All this was accomplished in 1641, when the earliest body of laws, entitled the "Body of Liberties," was adopted ("Collections Mass. Hist. Soc.," vol. xxviii. pp. 191–237). Thus the entire sting was extracted from the socage-tenure, and nothing was left but the reservation of one-fifth of the gold and silver ore by way of rent, — a mere theoretical feud, resolving itself into fealty alone. The Commonwealth is now the lord paramount; and the fealty can be called for whenever the Commonwealth requires, in the form of an oath of allegiance. Our lands are now allodial in name, as they have always been in reality. It is a curious fact in the history of language, that the term *fee-simple* has entirely lost its original meaning of a simple fief, — that is, an estate in which the tenant has merely the usufruct for a longer or

shorter period; and that now a fee-simple is the highest and widest estate of inheritance known to the law, free from every species of encumbrance, condition, or limitation.

HORSMONDEN.

In the south-westerly part of Kent, within a few miles of the borders of Sussex, in the hundred of Brenchley and Horsmonden, in the lathe of Aylesford, lies the quiet and retired parish of Horsmonden.* It is forty miles south-east from London, in a rural, agricultural district; situate on no great thoroughfare, and possessing no factitious or local advantages for progress in population and wealth. As villages of this class alter but little from century to century in our motherland, a description of the present appearance of Horsmonden will probably give a pretty correct idea of its aspect at the beginning of the seventeenth century. A descendant of Simon Willard in the seventh generation visited the ancestral home in the summer of 1850. He may be the first of all the descendants after the second generation who has enjoyed this privilege. Indeed, we may be reasonably well assured of the fact, when we state that the particular parish in Kent, the birthplace of Simon Willard, had long ago passed from memory, through some unaccountable negligence; and was only retraced so lately as the year 1845, after industrious and persevering inquiry. From the interesting sketch of Horsmonden which this gentleman † has given, I make the following extracts: —

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* Horsmonden: post-town, Lamberhurst two miles N.E. by E. Population, 1,224. Living, a rectory in the Archdeaconry and Diocese of Rochester, valued in King's Book £26. 3s. 9d. Church dedicated to St. Margaret: patrons (1829), W. A. Morland, Esq.; Sir J. W. Smith, Bart.; and J. P. Ince, Esq. — *Gorton's Topographical Dictionary.*

Horsmonden is a few miles south-east of Tunbridge, and about the same distance north-west of Cranbrook. Lamberhurst is partly in Kent, and partly in Sussex.

† Hon. John Dwight Willard. Letters dated Horsmonden, Aug. 28, 1850; Coblentz, Sept. 19, 1850.

"I have found it, as I expected, a retired agricultural parish. The land is fertile, and in the highest state of cultivation. It is divided by hedges (the only farm-fence) into fields of various sizes, say from five to twenty acres each. There is hardly a level rood of land in the parish; and, on the other hand, there is no high hill and no steep ascent. The land is gently and beautifully undulating; or, as our Western friends would term it, 'rolling.' One feature of the landscape has struck me with great surprise, not only in Horsmonden, but in various parts of England, — its very *wooded* appearance; in which particular it far exceeds any of the old settled parts of America. Forest-trees, in great numbers, are set along in the hedges, and scattered over some of the fields. The moisture of the climate gives the trees and all the foliage a deep and bright green which we seldom see at home.

"I hardly remember when I have more enjoyed a walk than on the evening I arrived here. I went to the top of one of those gentle ascents which I have before mentioned, where I had an extended view, over a rich and verdant landscape, for several miles. It was just at sunset of one of those bright and clear days so rare in this country, and which would have done credit even to our own New England. The trees, the velvet grass, the waving grain, the hedges, the farm-houses, and the cottages, all together presented a scene of picturesque beauty such as my eye has seldom rested on. The dwellings in the parish, almost without exception, and including the cottages, are of brick, with roofs of tile. There is a little village in the parish, consisting of about twenty unpretending houses built around a green. Our home is at the Gun Inn." [Here follows a pleasant description of this perfectly neat and comfortable inn.]

"The church is two miles distant from the village, and quite on one side of the parish. It is a venerable and rather neat Gothic edifice of stone. Its age is not known; but the rector supposes, from the style of architecture, that it is about five hundred years old. It is with certainty the church in which young Simon Willard was baptized; and it was with much interest that I read in the parchment register of that church, in Old-English characters, the record of his baptism.

"Just at the entrance, in the floor of the principal aisle, is a tablet to the dead, bearing the date of 1587; and over that stone Simon was doubtless borne to his baptism.

THE GREAT OAK.

"Near the church is a most magnificent oak, of which the men of Horsmonden are justly proud. The trunk is thirty feet in circumference at the roots, and retains a circumference of nearly twenty feet almost to the branches. I was told at the rectory that it is known to be at least three hundred years old, and how much older is not known. Our ancestor, in his boyhood, doubtless looked upon it often, and probably sat under its shade.

"Near the church is 'Rectory House,' the beautiful residence of the Rev. Mr. Marriott, the rector. The present net income of the living is £800. Mr. Marriott is a gentleman of large fortune. The gift of the living of Horsmonden is in his family; and he is both incumbent and patron, as was his grandfather, the Rev. Dr. Marriott, before him. He has the refined and polished manners of an educated English gentleman. He has treated me with much courtesy; and has not only given me ready access to the parish register, but (though I had no introduction to him) has also invited me to dinner, and shown me other attentions.

"The staple product of the parish is hops; though wheat, oats, and other crops, are also raised. The 'farmers,' who occupy and cultivate the land, have not a freehold estate in it. They occupy it as tenants under short leases; either leases from year to year, or for seven, fourteen, or twenty-one years. They pay an annual rent, from 15s. 6d. to 30s. sterling an acre; and often continue to occupy the same land, as tenants, from father to son.

"There are not fifty acres in Horsmonden the freehold of which is owned by men who either cultivate or superintend the cultivation. Below the 'farmers' there is a much more numerous class, — the farm-laborers; of whom some farmers employ five, ten, or fifteen. They receive, for wages, 10s. a week. Whether married or single, their food is not furnished by their employers, but they board themselves. With the ten shillings the laborer must support himself and his wife, and six children if he has them, and that in a country where provisions are dear. They seldom taste meat oftener than once a week, and many of them not once a month. I regret that is no longer true of any part of Kent which was formerly said of the whole country, that 'every man is in a manner a freeholder, and has some land of his own to live upon.'

"The class of small proprietors in England has of late years very greatly diminished. But very little land in England is now occupied by the cultivator of the soil, not even in Kent."

The above description would probably answer well for a description of the general appearance of Horsmonden early in the seventeenth century. The venerable church has grown more venerable, and the old oak more ample in its proportions. But there is one melancholy change. The sturdy and bold yeomanry, who then held their lands in free tenure, — owning the lands they cultivated, — have disappeared from Horsmonden; while leaseholders and laborers have taken their place. Estates in that parish, as elsewhere in England, have been gradually accumulating in fewer hands, destructive to the weight and influence of the middle classes; nay, gradually diminishing these classes themselves.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SIMON WILLARD, WITH THE NAMES OF HIS CHILDREN, &c.; PRECEDED BY A BRIEF MENTION OF HIS IMMEDIATE ANCESTORS.

The Willards, as we have seen, had been in England for many generations, and, at an early period, were found scattered from Ifield on the north, and Petworth on the west, throughout the breadth of Sussex. They were also found in Kent, — a numerous people, — particularly in the west and south-west, adjoining Surrey and Sussex, extending east to Canterbury, south to Cranbrook, and north to the vicinity of the Thames.

The immediate ancestors of Simon Willard resided in the south-westerly part of Kent, in the hundred of Brenchley and Horsmonden. The late Colonel John H. Willard, of Eastbourne, as we have seen, was of the opinion that the family of Simon Willard was of his house; that is to say, descended either from William or John Willard, who resided at Hailsham in Sussex in the reign of Edward III. (1341). We have seen that Richard Willard was a "Baron of Cinque Ports," probably in the reign of Richard II.; and that the name is of frequent occurrence in subsequent times, as a favorite Christian name, both in Sussex and Kent.*

Casting aside for the present all speculation concerning preceding generations, we arrive at a determinate point in the latter part of the sixteenth century, when we find

* The widow of Richard Willard, sen., who died at Horsmonden in June, 1577, was Elizabeth, who died September, 1592. Simon had a sister of that name, and a brother Richard.

Richard Willard solidly established in the pleasant and secluded village of Horsmonden; married, and giving hostages to fortune; and there residing until the time of his death in February, 1616 (old style). His will was proved March 14 following. He was buried Feb. 20.*

While at Horsmonden, he had gathered around him a considerable family, — at least ten children, seven of whom survived him. He was thrice married. His last wife, as we have seen, survived her husband only a few days, and was buried at Horsmonden on the 25th of the same February. Of his children who came to New England, Margery and Simon were of the second, and George was of the third marriage. Of the other four children who survived him, — Mary, Richard, Elizabeth, and Catharine, — I know nothing beyond their names with any degree of certainty. They were all baptized at the parish church where Richard worshipped, and may have remained in the fold. Simon, Margery, and probably George, sealed their faith in dissent in their removal to the New World. Was Richard of the Episcopal faith, or was he a Puritan within the bosom of the church? The baptism of the children by the rector of the establishment does not prove the former; while the known religious tendencies of several of the children at a subsequent period would lead to the latter conclusion. The Massachusetts people were Puritans within the bosom of the Episcopal church until they came to America. The separatists, — who arose, naturally enough, out of Puritanism, — a humble, isolated band, had left Scrooby in Nottinghamshire, and settled in Holland, eleven years before Richard's death, only to re-appear, at a subsequent day, in the settlement of Plymouth Colony. But, although Puritanism had for a long time abounded in the church, there was not a single nonconformist congregation in England in 1617.† We are thus left without any means of

* This corresponds to 1617, March 2, new style.

† The erratic Robert Brown, after separating from the Established church, and

defining the position of Richard Willard in the great controversy of opinion that was raging in the church throughout his life.

With regard to his character as a man, it is to be judged, as a tree is judged, by its fruits. The fruits of his life, in this regard, appear in the character of those children of whom we have knowledge, and who seem to have been trained with reference to their true interests as members of society and as Christian disciples. In his will he shows the same disposition, and makes special provision for the "virtuous bringing-up of his children." In the retirement of their native village, they were in process of education and discipline which would impart self-reliance, and embolden the spirit to adventure in mature life, even to the forsaking of all the comforts of a civilized and Christian home for the wilderness of the New World.

In the following table, I have arranged the family of Richard Willard. It is as exact as can be made with the materials in my possession, and sufficiently so to answer the purpose for which it is framed.

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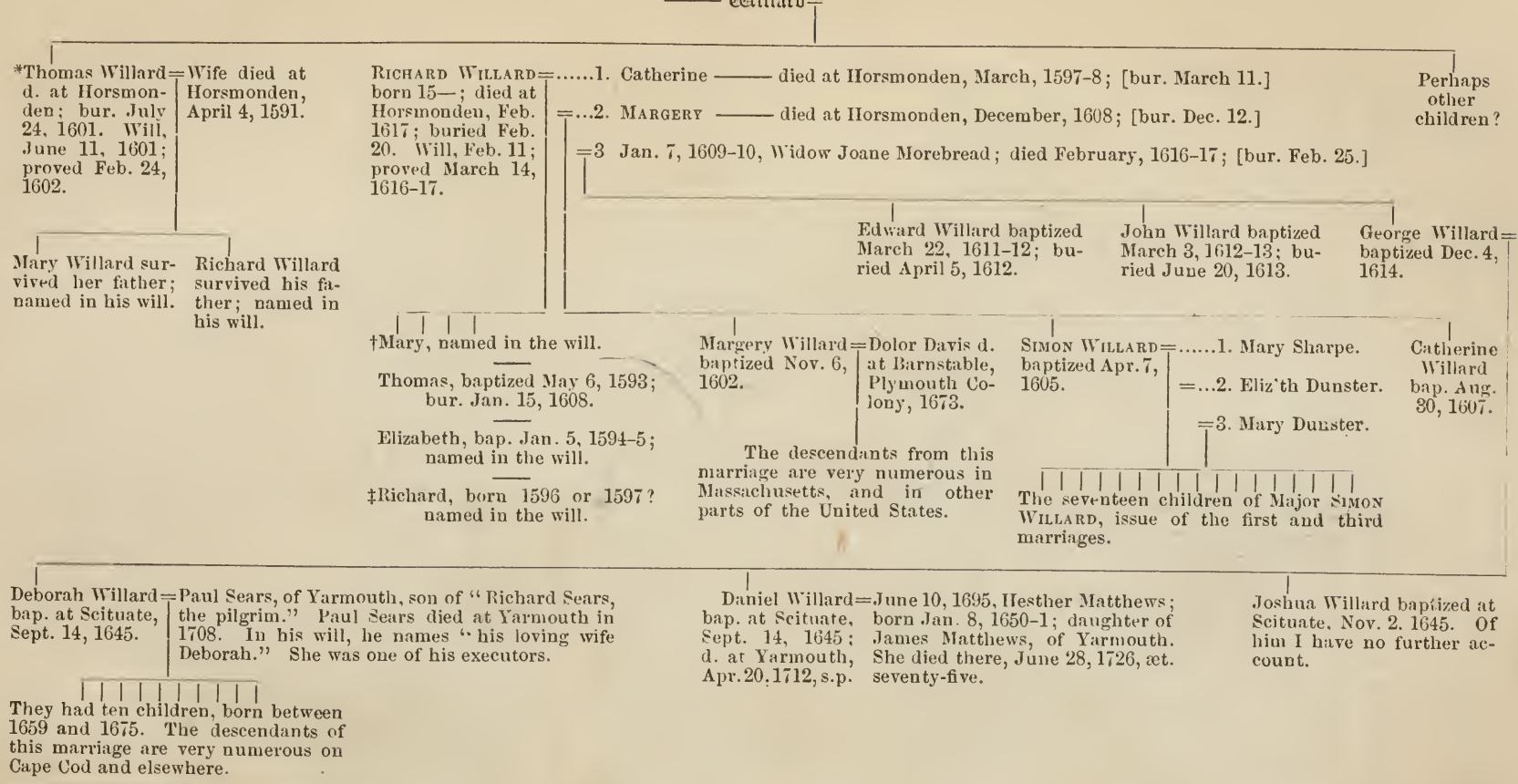
forming a congregation in Holland in the preceding century, which soon fell asunder, returned to England in 1589, and, recanting his principles of separation, became reconciled to his first love. The Plymouth people were unjustly called Brownists by their enemies; but Cotton remarked, with equal sharpness and truth, that, "if any be justly to be called Brownists, it is only such as revolt from separation to formality, and from thence to profaneness." — *Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, 444.



* I state that Thomas, who died in 1601, was the brother of Richard of Horsmonden. I scarcely entertain a doubt that such is the fact. I find no other Thomas who fulfils the requisite conditions.

† One of the name of Mary died at Horsmonden, June, 1625; buried June 20: or our Mary may have been Tyboull's wife. See Richard's will, *ante*, p. 57.

‡ The parish register of Horsmonden contains several of the name: viz., Richard, son of Richard, baptized May 7, 1591; Richard, son of Richard, buried Sept. 6, 1596; Richard, son of Richard, baptized Sept. 5, 1596; Richard, son of Richard, baptized Sept. 4, 1597; Richard, son of Richard, baptized April 9, 1615. This last Richard follows too closely after George to be the veritable one. We may pretty safely take the Richard who was born in 1596 or 1597.

Simon Willard, the subject of the following sketch, was born at Horsmonden, probably in the early part of the year 1605; and was baptized in the church at that place, April 7, 1605.* The record of his baptismal consecration, as recorded in the parish register and in a preceding page, runs thus; viz.: —

An°. Dni.	Anno 3 R. Jacobi.
1605.	The vijth day of Aprill SIMON WILLARDE sonne of RICHARDE WILLARD was christenede.
	EDWARD ALCHINE, Rector.

His early years, I presume, were passed in his native parish in Christian training, under the affectionate guidance of his father, aided by the counsels and catechetical teachings of the worthy rector. His mother died before he reached the age of four years, — before he could measure the value of her sympathetic and fostering care, or comprehend the extent of his loss; while the death of his father and of his step-mother left him without a natural protector at the age of twelve, — left him to the peril of temptations which beset youth in the quiet of a rural village, as well as in places of larger resort. How he passed the critical period between that time and his majority can be judged by reference to his subsequent future life and conversation. As the boy is father to the man, we may rest in the belief, that, while preparing himself for the duties of active life according to the provision made by his father, he also devoted himself with praiseworthy attention to the cultivation of his mind, and the education of his religious nature. Puritanism, as I have already stated, prevailed to a marked extent in the church of England. Many persons submitted tacitly to the forms and ceremonies of the Established religion — though still smacking, as they thought, of Romish corruptions — from a natural reluctance to leave their ancestral places of worship; or from a timid temperament, which caused them

* As baptism in the Episcopal church follows pretty closely upon birth, we may reasonably infer that Simon's birth took place early in the year 1605.

to shrink instinctively from stern conflict; or perhaps from the hope that a healthful change would be brought about, at no distant day, within the bosom of the Establishment. Richard, the father, may have inclined to join the increasing array of dissent. From the name which he gave to this son, — a name so unusual at any time in England, — we may be allowed to conjecture that his sympathies were with the Puritans in 1605; but whether from hereditary example, or from his own convictions on reflection, so it was, that the son became a very thorough Puritan. In his youth and early manhood, he was witness to the persecutions suffered by the Puritans from the arbitrary temper of Bishop Laud, — persecutions that became more severe and intense when the bishop was raised to the see of Canterbury. Doubtless, feeling the constraint that was fast gathering around those who had embraced the principles of the new party,* and feeling also the disturbed social position in his own neighborhood, his thoughts began to turn with eagerness to the subject of migration. There was no present rest at home; and gloomy apprehensions shadowed out a future of religious bitterness and violence, — an intolerance of party outliving all other forms of animosity. New England offered the only asylum where he could enjoy his religious opinions undisturbed and unquestioned; and thither he determined to proceed with his family. Parting from his country, he probably parted with his landed property, and brought the proceeds with him to New England.†

Bands of the faithful — the men of Devon, Suffolk, Lincolnshire, and other counties — had gone in large numbers to the New World; and Kent had contributed, in a measure, from her own population. It is easy to draw a picture of self-denial and suffering in another age, but very difficult

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* Comparatively a new party, but not so in reality.

† From the want of registration in England, it would be a difficult and expensive process to trace back this title, and ascertain when and how he disposed of this estate. Probably, by the process which I have before mentioned, he became tenant in fee-simple, and then sold the estate. — *Ante*, p. 59, note.

to bring it home to the mind as a strong and real conviction. It is easy, at this day, to leave one's country from a love of adventure, or in pursuit of wealth, pleasure, or promotion; indeed, it is but little more than a holiday excursion: but, two and a quarter centuries ago, this was far otherwise. The seclusion of an English rural village, at that time, was almost as if an impassable barrier had been erected upon its borders. But few of the inhabitants, we may suppose, were ever at any great distance from the place of their birth; and a journey to London would have afforded subjects of conversation for a lifetime. Counties were then more widely separated than countries now. Thus it became a matter of grave moment when parents and children, husbands and wives, were seen ready to sunder the ties that had bound them to their homes; to leave those scenes which were impressed upon them by a thousand memories, and which were filled with ancestral associations, — the hearthstone, the kindred, the church, the town, the country, — and pass the perilous seas in weariness and danger, on a long voyage to a distant continent, all around and through which were dense forests, and the dreaded Indians, the gloom of nature, and the dreariness of solitude, there to establish themselves in new relations, and endure the hosts of privations incident to their lot, when neither the spirit of adventure nor the desire of wealth influenced the will or cheered the heart. We fall back upon the other great motive, which was sufficient to induce so many persons of good condition and prosperous lives to venture all upon this single cast. The desire of religious freedom and of well-ordered civil liberty was the powerful, overruling inducement. This must have been the inspiration which wrought upon the mind of Willard with great force; leading him, with a wife and young family, from the pleasant fields of Horsmonden, and bearing him along in that numerous and goodly procession that reached the shores of New England in the year 1634, where he immediately identified himself with the principles and views of his associates in church and commonwealth. He was then

at the age of twenty-nine, — when somewhat of the calm wisdom of mature life is combined with the warmer temperament of youth, and the shadowy begins to give place to the real. He was beyond the age of impulse. The sunlight of reflection had already visited him: and, under its influence, he made that decision which was to influence and direct his future life; nay, which was to run down through all time, and affect, for good or for evil, the whole line of his posterity.

At this time he was a married man. His wife, as we have already seen, was Mary Sharpe, who was born at Horsmonden in 1614,* and was the daughter of Henry Sharpe and Jane Feylde of that place, married there Sept. 24, 1610. Mrs. Willard was twenty years of age when she accompanied her husband to America. Various restraints upon emigration were rigidly enforced during the greater part of the time from 1630 until the power of the king began to sink, and that of Parliament to rise upon its ruins. Persons intending to remove to New England were not allowed to embark until they had obtained from the local authorities certificates of uniformity to the orders and discipline of the church of England, and of having taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. Other vexatious restraints were in like manner imposed. Of course, all this did not prevent removals. It simply touched and determined the stern will and solemn religious purpose. Obstacles were constantly encountered and overcome. Many were the instances in which persons would secretly find their way on shipboard after the vessel had left her port. They were ready to meet every hazard in their efforts to reach these shores. Winthrop tells us, under date of July, 1634, that "it appeared by many private letters that the departure of so many of the best, both ministers and Christians, had bred sad thoughts in those behind of the Lord's intentions in this work, and an apprehension of some evil days to

* Baptized Oct. 16, 1614.

come upon England. Then it began now to be apprehended by the archbishops, and others of the Council, as a matter of state, so as they sent out warrants to stay the ships, and to call in our patent; but, upon petition of the shipmasters (attending how beneficial this plantation was to England), in regard of the Newfoundland fishing, which they took in their way homeward, the ships were at that time released." Simon Willard probably came over in this fleet.

"From the year 1630 to this present year,"* says a contemporaneous writer, "when in the spring-time divers thousands have each year prepared themselves for their passage into New England, sold their estates, shipped their goods, and were even ready to put to sea, such secret ways and means have been used as they have been stayed for a time, and often been in danger of being prevented of their journey, to their utter undoing; but God, that protecteth his, has still, by one means or other, disappointed the malicious and merciless plots and designs of their enemies, and opened them a seasonable liberty of departure, and a safe passage thither. Nay, great benefactors are their enemies unto them, in urging their ecclesiastical censures against tender consciences more than ever: for by this they have driven many thousands over to them, who else had not now been there; as also in making the passage so difficult, because by that means none almost will hazard the putting of their estates and fortunes to be in possibility of being undone if they should be stopped, but such only as go for conscience' sake; so as their numbers there do now amount to some fifty thousand, and most of them truly pious; and every parish supplied with such able, painful preaching ministers, as no place under heaven enjoys the like." †

The year 1634 was one, among others, that witnessed an important and valuable addition to the population of the Colony. The same writer remarks, "I could not but

* 1638.

† Autobiography of Sir Symonds D'Ewes. — *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, vol. xxxi. p. 249.

wonder withal at God's providence, that this year [1634], especially in the spring-time, put into the hearts of so many godly persons, as well women as men, to hazard themselves, their children and estates, to go into New England in America — at least three thousand miles from this kingdom — by sea, there to plant, in respect of the doctrinal part, one of the most absolutely holy, orthodox, and well-governed churches in Christendom, or in that other world."*

Various records from the English archives, containing lists of passengers to New England in the early years of the Massachusetts Colony, have been recently brought to light. Of these lists, there are but few belonging to the year 1634, and none for the vessel in which Willard was a passenger. He embarked from England in April, 1634, in company with his sister Margery, and her husband Captain Dolor Davis; and arrived at Boston about the middle of the month of May, after a short and very prosperous voyage. The General Court convened at Boston on Wednesday, May 14, and continued in session on Thursday and Friday. Winthrop states it thus; viz., "The week the court was, there came in six ships with store of passengers and cattle. . . . These ships, by reason of their short passage, had store of provisions left, which they put off at easy rates." I have no present knowledge of any of the other passengers in the ship, except of Mr. William Pantry, Mr. —— Crayfoote, Samuel Greenhill, and [Timothy ?] Stanly. Mrs. Elizabeth Bacon states in her deposition, that she arrived in New England in the month of May, 1634; and that Samuel Greenhill "was reputed, by those who were well acquainted with him in the ship, a man of a considerable estate, and was accordingly entertained in the ship with Mr. Willard and Mr. Pantry and Mr. Crayfoote, and others of good account." †

* Autobiography of Sir Symonds D'Ewes. — *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, vol. xxxi. p. 248.

† This deposition is on the files at Hartford, Conn. It was brought to my knowledge by Mr. Savage, who received it from Mr. Sylvester Judd. A copy of it was kindly furnished me by the late Hon. Thomas Day, of Hartford. Pantry,

Willard was probably engaged in active business during the years of his majority at Horsmonden. He is the one entitled "merchant" by Governor Winthrop in 1635. He dealt also extensively with the Indians of the interior, and engaged in the purchase and exportation of furs. Soon after his arrival, he, and his brother-in-law Captain Davis, established themselves at Cambridge. They owned adjoining lands on the Brighton side of Charles River. Willard's tract, dated Aug. 4, 1634, consisted of one hundred acres, with a dwelling-house upon it, bounded east upon Charles River, north upon Dolor Davis, south upon Boston bounds, —now the boundary line between Brighton and Brookline,— and the Common on the south-west.* In the village of Cambridge, Davis had a house-lot at the corner of Water and Long Streets. This became the property of Willard, who sold it, probably about the year 1639, to Edward Mitchelson. Willard and Davis, from their connection, would be likely to occupy the estate together.

The record of the sale runs thus; viz.: —

"1635. 'Dollard Davis, one house-lot of half a rood, more or less, Water Street, north-west; John Bridg,† south-west; William Andrews,† north-east; William Westwood,† east.' Andrews's estate

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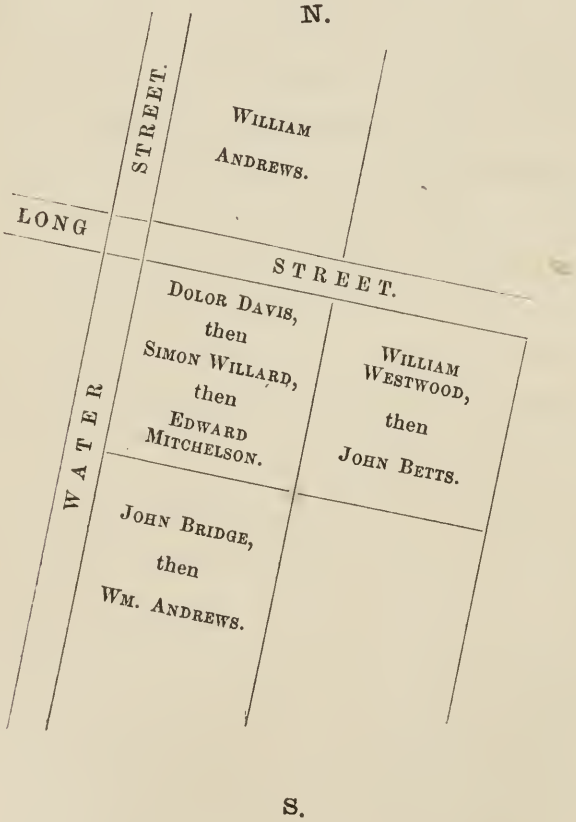
Greenhill, and Stanly took the freeman's oath in March, 1635. Stanly was Mrs. Bacon's former husband. Greenhill was of Staplehurst, a few miles from Horsmonden.

* The grant bears date Aug. 4, 1634 (Cambridge Proprietors' Records, folio 3), and is recorded thus in June, 1635; viz., "Symon Willard, upon the west side of Charles River, one hundred acres of land, with one house thereupon; Charles River on the east, Dolard Davis on the north, Boston Bounds on the south, the Common on the south-west." This farm — now a very valuable tract of land — is in the north-easterly corner of Brighton, and divided from Brookline by Smelt Brook, which crosses the Mill Dam, and empties into Charles River. Sewall's Farm, in Brookline, bounds westerly on the brook. Davis had twenty-five acres lying next north of Willard, also bounding east on Charles River. John Bridge had seventy-five acres next north of Davis, also bounding east on Charles River. On the 25th of August, 1635, they sold their respective lots to Richard Girling, mariner, amounting to two hundred acres in all, and lying in one body. Girling died poor; and, in 1638, "Mr. Andrewes" became the owner.

† Mr. William Andrews, William Westwood, and John Bridge, took the freeman's oath in March, 1635, at the same time with Messrs. Pantry, Greenhill, and Stanly.

was separated from this by Long Street [now Winthrop Street]. His lot was bounded south-west on Long Street, and north-west on Water Street [now Dunster Street]. The town-record recites that 'Edward Michason [Mitchelson] bought of Simon Willard, on Water Street, one dwelling-house and garden, bounding upon Mr. Andrews southward, John Beetts [Betts] eastward, Long Street northward.' 'The estates on the south and east,' says Rev. Lucius R. Paige, of Cambridge, 'had changed hands; but the lot is identified by its situation in the angle formed by Water Street on the west, and Long Street on the north.'"*



* This estate which Simon Willard owned, and I suppose occupied, was the property of Mr. Foxcraft in the last century. It was purchased by the writer's brother, the late Hon. Sidney Willard, a descendant of Simon Willard in the sixth generation, who occupied it for several years during his ownership, and removed from it in 1837.

At the very time of Willard's arrival in New England, the inhabitants of Cambridge were complaining of "straitness for want of land, especially meadow;" and so they sought leave from the General Court "to look out either for enlargement or removal."* According to Winthrop, this leave was granted at the May session, in the year 1634; and, during the same month, the inhabitants "sent men to see Agawam and Merrimack," if haply they might find thereabouts a meet place for habitation. Six men also went from Cambridge, in the "Blessing of the Bay," "to discover Connecticut River, intending to remove their town thither." The question came up again in the General Court at the September sitting in Cambridge. Sundry other matters were discussed; but this "about the removal of Newtown to Connecticut" was the great business of the regular session, and of an adjournment thereof. It was debated on divers days with great earnestness, but not out of proportion to its importance, when the sparse population of the infant towns is considered, and the serious consequences that might follow from the removal of any considerable number of the people. The various arguments for the removal, and the objections urged against it, are pretty fully stated by Winthrop. A majority of the Deputies voted to grant the request; but the vote of the Assistants was in the negative. Thus, at once, there arose a controversy between the popular branch and the Assistants; the former not consenting to "yield the Assistants a negative voice," and the latter persisting to claim it as a conservative power against the more numerous body of the Deputies. At this point of division, neither party being inclined to yield, the whole court set apart a day of humiliation, which was kept in all the congregations. When the court came together again, Cotton preached a discourse,† which was so skilfully contrived in

* Ipswich, Watertown, and Roxbury also complained of being in a crowded condition.

† "Being desired by all the court, upon Mr. Hooker's instant excuse of his unfitness for the occasion." — *Winthrop's History*, vol. i. Mr. Hooker was very zealous for removal.

itself, and was so potently aided by the dominant clerical sway of that period, as to silence the controversy for the time, if it failed to convince the majority of the Deputies. Winthrop adds, that "the congregation of Newtown came and accepted of such enlargement as had formerly been offered them by Boston and Watertown; and so the fear of their removal to Connecticut was removed."

Willard was probably in favor of removal. The fact that he actually changed his residence in the following year, and that the purpose of removal had already become very general, would lead to this conclusion.

But the subject did not rest here. It was urged again the next year (1635), and with greater success. Another element — it is hinted by Hubbard — was among the incentives for removal, besides that of the pressure of population and straitened room, and one "that did more secretly and powerfully drive on the business." — "Some men," he says, "do not well like, at least cannot well bear, to be opposed in their judgments and notions; and thence were they not unwilling to remove from under the power, as well as out of the bounds, of the Massachusetts. Nature does not allow two suns in one firmament; and some spirits can as ill bear an equal, as others a superior." * Hutchinson says that "the great influence which Mr. Cotton had in the Colony inclined Mr. Hooker and his friends to remove to some place more remote from Boston than Newtown." † These two clergymen came together to New England, and both were candidates for congregational favor and preferment. Cotton immediately gained great influence, not only in Boston, but throughout the Colony, and soon became the leading divine. Hooker, as the historians intimate, may not have borne this with becoming meekness. He was not wholly well affected towards Winthrop, I should think; and he joined with Mr. Haynes, a gentleman of ambitious disposition, and others of

* Hubbard's History of New England.

† Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, vol. i.

the rigorous party, in finding fault with Winthrop for having "dealt too remissly in point of justice." *

In 1635, those who were desirous of settling in Connecticut succeeded in their purpose. They sold their estates to a new company, which, arriving early in October of this year, settled in Newtown in their stead, with the Rev. Mr. Shepard for their minister.

While these measures were in progress, Willard sought out another residence for himself and his family. He watched with interest the proceedings of the General Court when sitting in his own town the preceding year. I can hardly suppose that he ever contemplated removing to Connecticut in company with Hooker's congregation, or that he had any particular sympathy with the severe complexion of that body, which, to appearance, was not in entire accord with the ruling powers in the Colony.

Rev. Peter Bulkeley, a man of great learning and of large heart, "of noble family," possessed "of wealth," and distinguished as a divine, arrived in Cambridge early in the summer of the year 1635; † and to him Willard attached himself with affectionate regard. This alliance with Bulkeley shows that Willard had no disposition to join with the Hooker congregation; and shows, too, that his mind was not so constructed as to become a recipient of those somewhat mystical dogmas which became rife the following year in the Antinomian controversy. ‡

* The wise and judicious Winthrop justly remarked to his censors, "that it was his judgment, that, in the infancy of plantations, justice should be administered with more lenity than in a settled state, because people were then more apt to transgress, partly of ignorance of new laws and orders, partly through oppression of business and other straits." — Vol. i. p. 178.

† He embarked for New England, May 9, 1635, on board the "Suzan and Ellin." — *Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections*, vol. xxviii. p. 263.

‡ From what we know of the well-regulated temperament of intellect, affections, and will possessed by his son, Rev. Samuel Willard, of the Old South Church in Boston, we may safely reason back, and deduce it as an actual inheritance from his father. The same properties would be confirmed by Bulkeley's teachings and ministrations, under which Samuel was trained. We find these same properties very strongly marked and developed in a great-grandson of Samuel, who, for many years, was at the head of Harvard College.

Wearied, perhaps, with the unquiet condition of Cambridge, and perhaps straitened for want of accommodations, he cast about him in search of a permanent home. There was a spot many miles distant from Cambridge, already well known to him, from his intercourse with the Indians, to be of pleasant aspect and of easy cultivation; and to this he directed his attention. A grant was made by the General Court, Sept. 2, 1635, of "a plantation at Musketaquid . . . six myles of land square to belonge to it." * Winthrop says that this grant was made "to Mr. Buckly and —— (Simon Willard), merchant, and about twelve more families, to begin a town at Musketaquid, for which they were allowed six miles upon the river, and to be free from publick charges three years; and it was named Concord." † The selection of this particular locality for a new settlement would naturally be suggested by Willard, as the leader of the enterprise.

During the same fall, — a season of the year most unpropitious for a lodgment in the wilderness, — the undaunted party set forth from their quiet abodes in Cambridge in search of the granted territory. The description of the enterprise, and the difficulties they encountered with their wives and children, cannot be better set forth than in the following quaint language of a contemporaneous writer: —

"Upon some inquiry of the Indians, who lived to the north west of the Bay, one Captaine Simon Willard being acquainted with them by reason of his trade, became a chiefe instrument in erecting this town; the land they purchase of the Indians, and with much difficulties traveling through unknowne woods, and through watery scrampes [swamps] they discover the fitnesse of the place, sometimes passing through the thickets, where their hands are forced to make way for their bodies passage, and their feete clambering over the crossed trees, which when they missed they sunke into an uncertaine bottome in water, and wade up to the knees, tumbling

* Shattuck's Concord. † Winthrop's History, vol. i.

sometimes higher and sometimes lower; wearied with this toile they at end of this, meete with a scorching plaine, yet not so plaine, but that the ragged bushes scratch their legs fouly, even to wearing their stockings to their bare skin in two or three houres, if they be not otherwise well defended with bootes or buskings their flesh will be torne; — (that some being forced to passe on without further provision) have had the bloud trickle downe at every step; and in the time of summer the sun casts such a reflecting heate from the sweet ferne whose scent is very strong, so that some herewith have beene very nere fainting, although very able bodies to undergoe much travell; and this not to be indured for one day, but for many. . . . They rest them one the rocks where the night takes them. Their short repast is some small pittance of bread if it hold out; but as for drinke they have plenty, the countrey being well watered in all places that yet are found out. Their farther hardship is to travell, sometimes they know not whether, bewildred indeed without sight of sun, their compasse miscarrying in crouding through the bushes. They sadly search up and doun for a known way, — the Indians paths being not above one foot broad, so that a man may travell many dayes and never find one. . . . This intricate worke no whit daunted these resolved servants of Christ to goe on with the worke in hand; but lying in the open aire, while the watery clouds poure down all the night season, and sometimes the driving snow dissolving on their backs, they keep their wet cloathes warme with a continued fire, till the renewed morning give fresh opportunity of further travell. After they have thus found out a place of aboad, they burrow themselves in the earth for their first shelter under some hill side, casting the earth aloft upon timber. They make a smoaky fire against the earth at the highest side, and thus these poore servants of Christ provide shelter for themselves, their wives and little ones, keeping off the short showers from their lodgings, but the long raines penetrate through, to their great disturbance in the night season. Yet in these poore wigwames [they sing psalmes, pray and praise their God], till they can provide them houses, which ordinarily was not wont to be with many till the earth, by the Lords blessing brought forth bread to feed them, their wives and little ones — which with sore labours they attaine, every one that can lift a hawe (hoe) to strike it into the earth, standing stoutly to their labours, and teare up the rootes and bushes, which the first yeare beares them a very thin crop, till the

soard of the earth be rotten, and therefore they have been forced to cut their bread very thin for a long season. But the Lord is pleased to provide for them great store of fish in the spring time, and especially alewives about the bignesse of a herring, — many thousands of these they used to put under their Indian corne which they plant in hills five foote asunder — and assuredly when the Lord created this corne, hee had a speciall eye to supply these his peoples wants with it; for ordinarily five or six graines doth produce six hundred.

"As for flesh they looked not for any in those times (although now they have plenty) unlesse they could barter with the Indians for venison or rockoons, whose flesh is not much inferiour unto lambe; the toile of a new plantation being like the labours of Hercules, never at an end. Yet are none so barbarously bent (under the Mattacusets especially) but with a new plantation they ordinarily gather into church-fellowship, so that pastors and people suffer the inconveniences together; which is a great meanes to season the sore labours they undergoe. And verily the edge of their appetite was greater to spirituall duties at their first comming in time of wants, than afterwards; Many in new plantations have been forced to go bare foot and bare leg, till these latter dayes, and some in time of frost and snow. Yet were they then very healthy, more than now they are. . . . Their lonesome condition was very grievous to some; which was much aggravated by continuall feare of the Indians approach, whose cruelties were much spoken of, and more especially during the time of the Peqot wars.

"Thus this poore people populate this howling desart, marching manfully on (the Lord assisting) through the greatest difficulties, and sorest labours that ever any with such weak means have done."*

It does not appear why the planters set forth upon this great undertaking so late in the season. It may have been that those of them who had owned real estate in Cambridge had sold to the new-comers, in contemplation of the grant of Concord. Willard, as we have seen, sold his farm of one

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* Johnson's Wonder-working Providence. — *Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections*, vol. xiii. pp. 156 *et seq.*

hundred acres only nine days before the grant; and, with his associates, was probably preparing for a removal as soon as the township should be assured to them.

So far as I can judge, the purchase from the Indians was not completed until the following year. The chief evidence in relation to it consists of four depositions of several Indians, which were taken in the year 1684, and are upon record in the Middlesex Registry of Deeds.*

Mr. Willard, Rev. Mr. Jones, Mr. Spencer, and several others, were present at the house of the Rev. Mr. Bulkeley, and represented the planters. Squaw Sachem, Tahattawan, and Nimrod, were the Indians who conveyed the land. Willard and Spencer paid the consideration-money in wampumpeage, cutlery, cloths, &c. "After the bargain was concluded, Mr. Simon Willard, pointing to the four quarters of the world, declared that they had bought three miles from that place east, west, north, and south; and the said Indians manifested their free consent thereunto." This was an auspicious beginning; and it is gratifying to believe that the honorable purchase, which was made to the entire satisfaction of both parties, insured uninterrupted harmony between them until the melancholy era of Philip's war.

In a preceding page, I have mentioned the excursion of six of the Newtown men, in July, 1634, on board of the "Blessing of the Bay," to discover Connecticut River. When John Winthrop, jun., came over from England, in the fall of 1635, to establish a plantation at Connecticut, "men and ammunition, and £2,000 in money," were

* These depositions were taken in October, 1684. "Jehoiakim, alias Mantatukwet, a Christian Indian of Natick," who resided at Concord at the time of the purchase, and "Jethro," another "Christian Indian of Natick," who at that time resided at Nashobah, deposed that they were present at the purchase, and that it was "about fifty years" ago. William Buttrick and Richard Rice deposed that it was "about the year 1636." Though the settlement was begun, and undoubtedly with the consent of the Indians, as early as the fall of 1635, the purchase was not made, or, more properly speaking, was not confirmed, by defining the territory and paying the consideration, until 1636.

sent over "to begin a fortification at the mouth of the river." *.

In November, Winthrop despatched a bark thither with carpenters and other workmen, some twenty in number, under the direction and control of Messrs. Gibbons and Willard, with directions "to take possession of the place, and to raise some buildings." This was after Willard had aided in safely conducting the colony to Concord.

They began "to build houses against the spring," and were busily engaged in the work when Lion Gardner — an expert engineer, who had seen service in the Low Countries, and arrived at Boston on the 28th of November — came round to the mouth of the river. The houses erected at that place in the dreary months of November and December must have been of rude construction, intended only for temporary shelter until the fort should be completed, and other preparations for a permanent settlement should be matured. Willard and his associate, having executed their commission, probably returned to Boston, in the month of December, in the ship "Rebecca," which came down from Hartford laden with passengers. Failing to meet with their expected supply of provisions, they proceeded on their homeward voyage, and came to Boston in five days; "which," says Winthrop, "was a great mercy of God; for otherwise they had all perished with famine, *as some did.*" Perils like these were of no unusual occurrence. Every step in the progress of new settlements was begirt with dangers and difficulties, which were met by the hardy adventurers among the men, and by feeble women, with entire bravery, and wonderful self-reliance, under God's protecting providence.

* The articles of agreement between Sir Arthur Hasselrig, Bart., Sir Richard Saltonstall, Knt., Henry Lawrence, Henry Darley, and George Fenwick, Esqs., on the one part, and John Winthrop, Esq., the younger, of the other part, bear date July 7, 1635. They appointed Winthrop "Governor of the River Connecticut in New England, and of the harbor and places adjoining." He was to provide fifty able-bodied men to make fortifications, and build houses for their accommodation, and then houses for men of quality within the fort. — *Hazard's Historical Collections*, vol. i. pp. 395–6.

It is unnecessary to add any thing to Johnson's quaint and graphic description of the hardships, privations, and sufferings endured by the Concord settlers during the first winter, while imperfectly protected from a rigorous climate in their wretched apologies for dwelling-houses. Willard was there with his young family, with great contentment in the present, and looking forward to the future with that devout trust in God which had accompanied him so confidingly on the broad ocean. Spring-time was approaching, when the virgin soil was first to be turned up by the white man, and preparations were to be made to provide more comfortable dwellings. It is not, however, my purpose to touch upon the history of Concord, even incidentally, except so far as it may be necessary to show that Willard was a leading and valuable citizen of the town during his residence there of twenty-four or twenty-five years. The sound learning, the religious zeal, tempered and deepened by strong good sense, together with the kindly affections, of Bulkeley, led Willard to join that excellent divine in the new plantation, and to become an honored member of his church and society. They were in close affinity, and were looking forward with impatience to the day in which they should be gathered into a church-estate.

During the first winter, there was neither church-building nor organized church in the town. Winthrop states that the two ministers, Messrs. Bulkeley and Jones, appointed July 5, 1636, "to gather a church at Newtown to settle at Concord," Sir Henry Vane, then governor, and Winthrop, the deputy-governor, received an invitation to be present; but they stood upon their dignity, and declined the invitation because it had only been tendered "three days before." This, perhaps, was naturally to be expected of Vane, who was young and ambitious, with the pride of noble birth peeping out from beneath his Puritan garb; but for Winthrop, the wise and prudent, all points of whose temperament were under great control, in the ripe maturity of his mind, such conduct was truly remarkable. I have given the reason

assigned by Winthrop; but the true reason, at least so far as Vane is concerned, leaks out in the next notice which Winthrop gives of this church in April following. The ordination of pastor and teacher was to take place at Newtown on the 6th of that month. "The governour [Vane], and Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wheelright, and the two ruling elders of Boston, and the rest of that church which were of any note, did none of them come to this meeting. The reason was conceived to be because they accounted them as legal preachers, and therefore would not give approbation to their ordination."* At this point of time, Vane and Cotton ruled supreme in the Boston church. The former and Wheelwright were rank in their Antinomianism, and Cotton was one who had not yet cleared his skirts of the infection. This was in the midst of the Antinomian controversy, when the whole Colony was engaged on either side in fierce battle upon abstruse, unintelligible theological dogmas; "so that it began to be as common," says Winthrop, "to distinguish between men, by being under a covenant of grace or a covenant of works, as in other countries between Protestants and Papists." The terms *Legalist* and *Antinomian* were bandied from side to side, and a general tone of bitterness pervaded the public mind.

The church of Concord seems to have been entirely free from this new species of delusion. Indeed, it was not of a quality to take fast hold of the strong English mind of the community for any length of time; and so it flourished but for a season, and then faded away, like so many other forms and shapes having none of the properties of the sound understanding.

Willard exhibited his good sense and discerning spirit in joining the ranks of that religious party which instinctively shunned blind enthusiasm, and contented itself with simple Christian zeal and unostentatious piety, even though sneered at as being under a covenant of works.

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* Winthrop, vol. i. pp. 217, 218.

Of the interior history of Bulkeley's church we can know but little. The historian of Concord informs us that the records are not in existence. The covenant quoted in the history, and which is probably the one that was adopted by the church, might be conscientiously subscribed at the present day by the great body of Protestant Christians. It is such a one as might have been expected from Bulkeley and his associates, and expressed the views entertained by Willard, who remained in Concord, attached to Bulkeley; while many others of the church and congregation removed with Mr. Jones to Fairfield in Connecticut.

Immediately upon the organization of the town, Willard was chosen clerk of the writs, and continued in that office, by annual election, for nineteen years. Clerks of the writs had authority, under a law of 1641, to grant summons and attachment in all civil actions, and summons for witnesses; also to grant process in replevin, to take replevin-bonds, &c. The assistants also granted "original process in suits-at-law." When Ward, in his election-sermon in 1641, discoursed with great good sense against the practice of magistrates giving private advice in suits-at-law which were pending in court, it was answered by some of them, that, if the magistrates were forbidden to give advice, it would be necessary "to provide lawyers to direct men in their causes;" and that the end for which magistrates were intrusted with the power "of granting out original summons" was "that they should take notice of the cause of the action, that they might either divert the suit if the cause be unjust, or direct it in a right course if it be good." This "ended many differences without charge to the parties," and "prevented many difficulties" in understanding the cause. — *See Winthrop's History*, vol. ii. pp. 35, 36.

In the following year, he was appointed, by the court, surveyor of arms, and "to exercise the military company at Concord;" no large martial array, but making up, in the stalwart arm and in the enduring spirit, for the thinness of its ranks. Perhaps he had had some military experience

before leaving Horsmonden: for Johnson, in his "Wonder-working Providence," calls him "a Kentish soldier;"* and the Rev. Dr. John Willard of Stafford, before named, who was well acquainted with several of his ancestor's grandchildren prior to the middle of the last century, states that he sustained the office of captain before he left England.† His first military commission in the Colony, however, was that of lieutenant-commandant, which he received in March, 1637.

We now find him fairly engaged in the public service, and receiving that generous confidence from the community which never deserted him. His military service was continuous for nearly forty years, until his death; and for the same period, with but few and short interruptions, he filled various and important civil offices.

At the earliest election made by the town (December, 1636), he was chosen its representative as a deputy to the General Court; and was re-elected every subsequent year until 1654, with the exception of 1643, 1647, and 1648,— a term of fifteen years. During all this long service, he was constant in his attendance, with the exception of May, 1645, and May, 1649, when he was excused for two days; in October, 1645, for a part of the session, at the request of the inhabitants of Concord; and in November, 1646, when he was fined for absence on the first of the session, and the fine was remitted on his paying the court's messenger. He was re-elected in 1654, but did not serve, having been placed by the freemen of the Colony in a more distinguished, responsible, and widely useful position. From 1636 to 1654, only three other gentlemen represented the town,— viz., Messrs. Thomas Flint, Richard Griffin, and Thomas Brooks; and each one of them, at times, served with Willard.

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* "The band of Concord led by Captain Simon Willard, being a Kentish soldier."

† "As I understand" is the qualifying phrase used by Dr. Willard. That the fact was so in reality can hardly admit of doubt, when we remember the source whence he derived his information.

Before the Province Charter of 1691, the duties of justices of the peace were performed by the respective members of the Court of Assistants under the Colony Charter. An early law gave them jurisdiction in causes not exceeding forty shillings, arising in their respective counties; and, in towns in which no one of the assistants resided, the Court of Assistants, or the County Court, at the request of any such town, might appoint three of the freemen to act as commissioners, any two of whom should have authority to hear and determine such causes, where either party was an inhabitant of the particular town. Under this law, and in pursuance of the request of Concord, Willard was appointed to be one of the commissioners, in connection with Messrs. Flint and Griffin, for the years 1639, 1641, and 1652.

We have seen that his early connection with the Indian tribes in the way of business led to the selection of Concord as a desirable place for settlement; and the same intercourse, extending through a long series of years, — during which he had acquired the confidence of the tribes, — caused him to be employed in various transactions on the part of the government, and also to be associated with Apostle Eliot and Major Gookin in their friendly missions. The following instances may be mentioned: —

When a company was formed, under the sanction of the General Court, in the year 1641, to encourage the trade in furs with the Indians, he was intrusted with the superintendence. The following is the order of the court; viz.: "It is ordered that no person wthin this jurisdiction shall trade in furrs or wampam wth any Indians, upon penulty of forfeture of the same to the Company. And this Court doth appoint Leift Willard, John Holeman, Rich^{r} Collecott, & so many as they shall receive into their society, of wch number it shall bee lawfull for Boston to p'sent 3, or 4, Charles Towne 2, & each other towne one, wch they shall not refuse wthout just cause; & this Court doth give liberty to these p'sons to trade wth the Indians all manner of comodities except guns, powder, shott & weapons, for wch they shall give

into the Treasury the twentieth part of all furs by them so traded, according as they shall arise to them, and that they shall take of all the wampam from the Colledge, p'vided it exceed not 25^{s}, & to make payment for it. And they shall have liberty to make ord^{rs} for the ordering of the trade in bever, and that this Court shall support & uphold them in all their lawfull undertakings, and that they shall buy all their comodities wthin this jurisdiction. . . . The traders for beaver have the trade granted to them for 3 yeares." *

I have no means at hand of determining the amount of this business: but, judging from the fact that it was the subject of special legislative trust in several enactments; that the tribes — all except the Pequots — were strong in their own localities, and many of them very numerous; also that the merchandise they furnished was of ready sale in England, — we may fairly infer that it was a very important branch of trade.

At the same session, he was commissioned to demand and receive the tribute due from the Block Islanders, and all other Indians; and, with his associates, to treat with the Pequots, "to see if they may bee brought to bee tributaries" to the Colonial government, and "to demaund all servants from the Indians."

These servants were not slaves, but persons who labored for a definite period, and were then discharged, their wages being established by positive regulation. They were entitled "workmen and servants," and were such as were sent over first by the company in England, and afterwards when the charter was transferred to New England. If they fled from the tyranny of their masters, the law interposed for their protection; and if they, "or any other inhabitant," went away "privily with suspicion of evil intention," they were liable to be sued and brought back. — *Colony Laws*, September, 1635.

Probably there were no slaves at this time (1641) in the

* "2. 4 mo 1641."

Massachusetts Colony, except the two or more held by Samuel Maverick on Noddle's Island. But the insidious system gradually crept in, though in a modified form, and is recognized in the following provision in the "Body of Liberties" adopted in 1641; viz., "There shall never be any bond slaverie, villinage or captivitie amongst us, unles it be lawfull captives taken in just warres, and such strangers as willingly selle themselves, or are sold to us. And these shall have all the liberties and Christian usages which the law of God established in Israell concerning such persons doeth morally require."

The principle of the law of 1641, with its limitation, was carried out in 1645, when the General Court directed that the two negroes "stolen" in Africa by Captain James Smith, a member of the Boston church, should be set at liberty, and be sent home. Smith, and Keyser his mate, were arrested, and held to answer.

The exception, in the "Body of Liberties," of those who "willingly selle themselves," can have no reference to the slavery of the individual for life, much less extend to his or her descendants. Ward, the clergyman, the author of the "Body of Liberties," had previously been a practising lawyer in England, and evidently well acquainted with the common law. By the common law, no man could sell himself into slavery, and this on the plainest principles of the law of sale; viz., the want of an equivalent, the entire absence of mutuality. The slave's property, price, liberty, and all, became the master's immediately on the sale; so that "the buyer gives nothing, and the seller receives nothing." Ward's provision, in its true interpretation, is confined to the sale of labor and service for a term of years; in other words, a contract for a limited period. By a provision in the "Body of Liberties," man-stealing was punishable with death.

Slaves were never numerous in Massachusetts. Guarded by reference to the Jewish code, the odious system was tempered by a humane public sentiment in the matter of

religious and elementary instruction. The marriage-tie was sacred. If mechanics or farm-servants, slaves worked with their masters, and often fed at the same table. They lived under the broad shield of the law, and were fully protected against violence and cruelty. From 1652 to 1656, they were enrolled in the militia, under a law then in force requiring negroes "inhabiting with, or *servants* to, the English, . . . to attend trayninges as well as the English;" and there is good reason to suppose that they were witnesses equally with the whites in courts of justice.*

But, with every alleviation, the system was never regarded with complacency. Conscientious persons were generally opposed to it. It did not pass without public animadversion.

The first case was that of James against his master Richard Lechmere, begun and decided in Middlesex in 1769, — nearly two years before Lord Mansfield, after long delays, and endeavoring to avoid a decision by an adjustment between the parties, had adjudged the celebrated Somerset case.

There were many cases after that of James, which were determined in the same way; and if there were none before, which is uncertain, it was from ignorance of rights, and not from doubt of the law.

There was no time in which it would have been held that slavery was hereditary in Massachusetts. However it may have been with slave-parents brought into the country, their children born here were born free. So held the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, sitting in bank, in the latter part of the last century, when Chief-Justice Francis Dana and Judge Robert Treat Paine were upon the bench, — both distinguished common lawyers, and both at the bar long before the Revolution; as were Sargeant, Cushing, and

* See the testimony of "Andrew" [no surname], "Mr. Oliver Wendell's negro," at the trial of the British soldiers, November, 1770. I am indebted to Mr. Bancroft for this reference.

Sumner, their associates. Dana had been counsel for Lechmere, and had enjoyed the instructions of his relative Trowbridge, the wisest lawyer of his time, especially in the common law of England and the Province. The decision in the last case was concurred in by the same court, in an opinion delivered by the late Chief-Justice Parker, in 1816.

Still there was no general effort to overthrow it, and it kept its hold like other forms of evil that people have become accustomed to, and submitted to in a passive state; but, as soon as the question was tested by legal investigation, it was decided in favor of freedom, on the broad ground that slavery was contrary to the charter, and contrary to the laws of England, by which no man could be deprived of his liberty but by the judgment of his peers.

Beyond all peradventure, slavery was wholly abolished in Massachusetts by the first article in the Declaration of Rights, which asserts "that all men are born free and equal;" and which was introduced and adopted, on the motion of the elder John Lowell, for this express purpose. Partly on this, but mainly on the more general grounds, the question was decided in 1781, in favor of human rights, in a case in Worcester County. No national judiciary then existed to assume a jurisdiction, and then render a judgment, which shocks the moral sense of the community, and is wholly contrary to every sound principle of law.*

In a very interesting paper upon the "Extinction of Slavery in Massachusetts" (*Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, vol. xxxiv.), written by Hon. Emory Washburn, which contains a full and instructive account of the Worcester case, 1781, he supposes that under the provision in the "Body of Liberties" allowing inhabitant or

* Dr. Belknap, in his faithful summary of the history of slavery in Massachusetts, states that the Colony-law prohibited "the buying and selling of slaves, except those taken in lawful war, or reduced to servitude for their crimes by a judicial sentence." The law embraces, besides, "those who willingly sold themselves, or are sold, to us;" and it was not the law of 1645, as he states, but of 1641, contained in the "Body of Liberties." The Lechmere case was not in 1770, but in 1769.

foreigner, "free or not free, liberty to come to any public court, council, or town-meeting, and, either by speech or writing, to move any lawful or seasonable or material question, or present any necessary motion, complaint, petition, bill, or information," &c., slaves were recognized "as having the rights of suitors in courts, and the qualified rights of citizens, so far, at least, as to be heard as petitioners."

In deference to his better judgment, I would express a doubt whether the phrase "not free" included slaves. "Not free" would seem to designate those residents who had not taken the freeman's oath. At this time, none but members of the Congregational church could take this oath, and become freemen; that is, be entitled to vote, hold office, and enjoy full municipal rights. The "not free," if they had resided in the Colony six months, and were of the age of sixteen years, were required by law to take the resident's oath, called the "oath of fidelity," but could not vote, hold office, and enjoy the full rights of citizenship. English Episcopalians, Baptists, and others, were among the "not free." I suppose there were no slaves in the Colony in 1641, except the two or more held by Maverick on Noddle's Island. The only *right* slaves could claim was to be protected from cruel treatment by their masters.*

In May, 1646, "The toune of Concord p'senting Left Symon Willard to this courte, as him whom they have chosen to be their Capt, desiring this courts approbac̄on of their choyce, & confirmac̄on, this courte graunts their request, accepts of their choyce, and confirmes the said Simon Willard as their capt."

The interest which had been excited by the efforts and comparative success of Eliot, in his intercourse with the Indians at Nonantum, extended to Concord; and Willard

* Grahame, the historian, claims that his grandfather, presiding in the Admiralty Court at Glasgow, decided the principle of the Somerset case "some" years before Mansfield's decision. If this be so, it would perhaps precede our case of James *v.* Lechmere.

was instrumental of good in seconding the influences of the apostle. Shepard states that "the awakening" of the Indians at Nonantum "raised a great noise among all the rest round about us, especially about Concord side." The sachem of that place, "with one or two more of his men," attended one of the early lectures of Eliot, and was so wrought upon by all that he witnessed, and was inspired with such entire confidence by reason of the kind treatment which he and his subjects had received from the English settlers, — after dwelling side by side with them for eleven years, — as to be desirous that the same benefits might be extended to his people which were already enjoyed by Waban's tribe at Nonantum.* It may be that he had religious glimmerings already; for we can hardly suppose that he could have remained so long, in a time of profound peace, in the immediate neighborhood of the kind-hearted Bulkeley, without receiving some Christian attention. And then the comfortable mode of life which the sachem constantly witnessed amongst his English neighbors, in striking contrast to the shiftless courses of the savage, may have induced him to profit by their example. However this may have been with the sachem, some of his chief men opposed his views, preferring the old paths, the sturdy independence, and free condition, of savage life. Resolved to carry his point, he called his tribe together, "and made a speech," † which was attended with entire success. They submitted to be governed by certain laws touching "their religious and civil government and behaviour; and desired an able and faithful man in Concord to record, and keep in writing, what they had generally agreed upon. . . . With unanimous consent, they intreated Captaine Simond Willard, of Concord, to

* Waban was son-in-law of the Concord sachem. — *Shattuck's Concord*, p. 28.

† Shepard, in his "Cleare Sunshine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians in New England," gives a few lines of the sachem's speech; and adds, that there were many other things said by him, "which were related by an eminent man of that town to me." — *Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections*, vol. xxiv. p. 38.

be their recorder; being very solicitous that what they did agree upon might be faithfully preserved without alteration." Acceding to their request, he reduced the rules to writing, and recorded them with the title of "Conclusions and Orders made and agreed upon by divers Sachims, and other principall men amongst the Indians at Concord, in the end of the eleventh moneth, An. 1646."* Some of the "conclusions and orders" were rather amusing, as pertaining to personal habits; others were moral and religious in their requisitions; while, as a whole, had they been carefully observed in practice, they would have changed the entire tenor of savage life. Willard seems to have had a tender regard for the temporal and religious improvement of his Indian neighbors, and an earnest desire to reclaim them from their wandering condition, and bring them within the pale of civilization. Their choice of him to be their recorder manifests their confidence in his friendship, and in his exertions to promote their welfare.

In the spring of the same year (1647), Eliot, taking courage from his apparently great success at Nonantum and Concord, extended his regard to Passaconaway, "the chief sachem of Merrimack," who had submitted to the jurisdiction of the English in the year 1645. The spring of the year was selected by Eliot for his visit, because there was "a great confluence of Indians every spring" at "a great fishing-place upon the falls of Merrimack River, called Pautucket."† This chief had his principal residence high up on Merrimack River; and in the spring-time, with numerous other Indians, was accustomed to resort to the great fishing-place at Pawtucket Falls. Thitherward Eliot proceeded, accompanied by Willard,‡ Flint, and

* January, 1647. See Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, vol. xxiv. pp. 39, 40, for the "Conclusions and Orders." Eliot preached his first sermon at Nonantum, Oct. 28, 1646.

† Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, vol. xxiv.

‡ From his acquaintance and intercourse with the Indians on Merrimack River, it may be supposed that he went partly to introduce Eliot to the great chief.

others, together with some Indians of the Bay. But the mission proved wholly fruitless at this time, so far as the wary chief was concerned. He and his sons kept themselves aloof, "pretending fear of being killed;" so that the English turned to his subjects, who were better disposed to listen to the words of the apostle, and to note the Christian example manifested by the Indian converts who were in the company.

The same Christian zeal that first prompted Eliot to undertake the conversion of the tribes encouraged him to persevere, through every obstacle, in his efforts to reach their darkened minds. Accordingly, determined to make another attempt, he renewed his visit in the spring of 1648, and obtained access to Passaconaway, who listened with grave attention, and made very respectable professions of a purpose to become a disciple. "This act of his," says Eliot, "was not only a present motion that soon vanished, but, a good while after,* he spake to Capt. Willard, — who tradeth with them in those parts for *bever* and *otter* skins, &c., — that he would be glad if I would come and live in some place thereabouts to teach them, and that Capt. Willard would live there also; and that, if any good ground or place that hee had would be acceptable to me, he would willingly let me have it."†

The course of Willard's business for a series of years would lead him pretty frequently to the upper waters of the Merrimack, and thus render it probable that he accompanied Eliot in his visits to Passaconaway in 1648 and 1651, and that he was subsequently a medium of communication between the apostle and the sachem. In 1657, he and his associates purchased the exclusive right to trade with the

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* Not a very long time after: for Eliot's visit was in the spring of 1648, during the fishing season upon the Merrimack; and his letter, from which I have quoted in the text, was written in the month of November following. In this letter, Eliot says that "Papassaconnaway is a great sagamore, and hath been a great witch in all men's esteem, and a very politick, wise man."

† Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, vol. xxiv. pp. 82, 83.

Indians on Merrimack River.* The fur-trade continued to be an important branch of business.

During the thirty-seven years that Willard was a member of the General Court, — viz., fifteen years as deputy or representative from the town of Concord, and twenty-two years as one of the assistants, — he was constantly engaged in the public service. The records of the General Court, and other archives, show a large aggregate of assiduous and valuable labor.

The office of surveyor was of very considerable importance in the early days of the Colony, as well in the country at large as in the business intrusted to the committees of the General Court. Willard possessed the qualifications required in this branch of industrious service; and, consequently, was often called upon for its exercise.

On a cursory examination of the Colonial Records, I find that he served upon numerous committees.

1637, Nov. 20. "A great part of the cheife inhabitants of Watertoune" petitioned the court, "that, in regard of their straitnes of accōmodation & want of medowe, they might have leave to remoue & settle a plantation upon the ryver wch runs to Concord;" and thereupon it was ordered that "Leift Willard, Mr Spencer, Mr Joseph Weld, & Mr —— Jackson, shall take veiwe of the places upon the said ryver, & shall set out a place for them by m^{r}ks & bounds sufficient for 50 or 60 families."

This was the Sudbury Plantation.

1638. In March following, they were permitted to sell their allotments in Watertown, and remove to the new plantation, should they so elect by the next court; and Willard and his associates were directed to "lay out the plantation."

At the next court, in September, 1638, "Pendleton, Noyse, Brown," and their associates, were allowed to proceed with their plantation, and the same committee were to "set out the bounds" thereof.

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* His associates were William Brenton, Ensign Thomas Wheeler, and Thomas Henchman. The contract took effect, July 1, 1657. — *Colonial Records.*

1638, June. Chairman of the committee on Mr. Gurling's lands.

1640, May. One of the committee to assess the value of stock on the Colony rate of £1,206.

1641. Willard was one of the committee appointed by the General Court to lay out to "Mrs. Marg^{t} Winthrope her 3,000 acres of land formerly granted her, to bee assigned about the lower end of Concord Ryver, near Merrimack."

1641. "Lt. Willard, Sergeant Collocot, and Mr. Holman, with Goodman [Nathaniel] Woodward, are desired to lay out the south line; or any three of them, so as Goodman Woodward be one."

Woodward, of Boston, was a skilful surveyor. In 1640, Endicott and Stoughton were appointed commissioners on the part of the Massachusetts, and Bradford and Winslow on the part of Plymouth, in relation to the boundaries between the two Colonies. The controversy was not then settled. Then followed this commission in 1641. This last survey appears to have been *ex parte*.

1642, June 14. "Wee whose names are underwritten, being appointed to veiwe Shawshin, & to take notice of what fitness it was of for a village, & accordingly to o^{r} apprehensions make returne to the Co^{r}t, wee therefore manifest thus much; that for the quantity it is sufficient, but for the quality in o^{r} app'hensions, no way fit, the upland being very barren, & very little medow thereabout, nor any good timber, almost, fit for any use. Wee went, after wee came to Shawshin house, by estimation some 14 or 16 miles at the least in compas; from Shawshin house wee began to go downe the ryver 4 or 5 miles near east, then wee left that point, & went neere upon north, came to Concord Ryver, a little belowe the falls, about one mile or neare; then wee went up the ryver some 5 miles, untill wee came to a place called the 'Two Brethren;' & fro^{m} thence it is about two miles & $\frac{1}{2}$ to Shawshin, & the most p^{t} of all the good land is given out already; more land there is at the south side of the house, between the side of Concord line & the heade of Cambridge line, but littell medow, & the upland of little worth; & this is that we can say hearin.

"Symon Willard
"Edw^{D} Convers."

With additional territory, this tract was afterwards incorporated by the name of Billerica.

1642, June 14. One of the committee appointed "to levy & p'portion a rate of £800" upon the various towns in the Colony.

The committee reported their apportionment on the same day.

1644, Nov. 13. One of the "commissioners," with Messrs. Pelham, Flint, and Noyse, "to viewe & survey ye medows or plaine lying upon" Sudbury River, and "to set some order, which may conduce to the better improving" the same.

In a mention of this commission the following year, it was entitled "in nature of a commission of sewers."

1645. On a committee "to draw up certain bills for positive laws, as against lying, sabbath-breaking, swearing, drunkenness," &c.

The committee reported in part at the same session, resulting in two detailed enactments, — one against making or publishing any lie "pernicious to the public weal, or tending to the damage or injury of any particular person;" and another against drunkenness.

1649, May. On a committee of the deputies "to consider of a way, and draw up a law, for dividing the shires, and the treasury in each shire, bringing all courts to an equality for power and numbers," — the law for the division into counties; viz., Essex, Middlesex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, the latter containing Salisbury, Hampton, Haverhill, Exeter, Dover, and Strawberry Bank (Portsmouth).

1649, May. An order passed the House of Deputies, founded on the authority of the sixth commandment, that none employed about the bodies of persons, as physicians, chirurgeons, midwives, or others, "shall exercise any act contrary to the knowne rules of arte, nor exercise any force, . . . no, not in the most difficult and desperate cases, without the advice and consent of such as are skillfull in the same arte, if such may be had, or at least of the wisest and gravest then p'sent, . . . much less contrary to such advice

and consent." This enactment is not intended to discourage, but rather to encourage skill, and "to inhibit and restrayne the p'sumptuous arrogance of such as through p'aefidence of their oune skill . . . dare be bould to attempt to exercise any violence . . . to the p'iudice or hazard of the life or limme of men, woemen, or children."

This would seem to be a judicious project; but, for some reason, Willard voted against it, in company with Secretary "Rawson, Ephraim Child, Robert Keayne, Robert Cleoments, James Penn, and Richard Browne," — all grave and solid men.

1649, May 4. Captain Willard and Serieant Wheeler, a committee to lay out, west of Sudbury, a tract of land, for the sum of £25, "put into the joynt stock by Mrs. Anne Harvye."

1650, May. "Captain Willard is chosen Comptroller for this session."*

1650, June. Captain Willard and "Sergeant Blood" ordered to lay out the grant to Samuel Haugh.

1650, October. "Captain Symon Willard was chosen Comptroller for this session."

1650, October. Captain Willard, Captain Lusher, and Mr. Edward Jackson, commissioners to settle the bounds of Sudbury and Watertown.

They made their return May, 1651, which was accepted.

1651, May. Captain Willard and Lieutenant Goodenow to make return at the next court of the two thousand acres to be laid out to Watertown, "neere Assabeth Riuer," next to Sudbury, provided it be not prejudicial to former grants.

1651, May. Captain Willard and Lieutenant Goodenow to lay

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* The only explanation I find of the duties of comptroller is found in an order of the House, 1644, May 3, prohibiting any member from speaking twice "to one case att one time," until all others desirous of speaking have the opportunity; then, "after some pawse," he might speak again on leave. Cooke and Torrey were chosen comptrollers at this session, "and particularly to see to the exact keeping of the foregoing order." From this it would seem that the comptroller's function was chiefly that of monitor.

out the thousand acres of land at Assabeth, which Jethro, the Indian, mortgaged to Harmon Garrett. The court allow Watertown to purchase this land of Garrett, on paying him within one month his expenses and charges in the premises.

1651, October. "According to an order of court about three yeares since that the toune of Sudbury should have two miles enlargement vppon theire west ljne — I whose name is vnder written, was appointed by this Courte to see the sajd land lajd forth according thereunto, I doe heereby informe the Courte that the thing is donne according to the order of court. Witnes my hand, 22th 8 mo 1651.

"Simon Willard."

1652, May Session. "Concerning the north line of this jurisdiction, it was this day voted, upon perusal of our charter, that the extent of the line is to be from the northermost part of the river Merrimack, and three miles more north where it is to be found, be it a hundred miles more or less from the sea, and thence upon a straight line east and west to *each sea*. . . . For the better discovery of the north line of our patent, it is ordered by the Court that Capt. Simon Willard and Capt. Edward Johnson be appointed our commissioners to procure such artists and other assistants as they shall judge meet to go with them, to find out the most northerly part of Merrimack River; and that they be supplied with all manner of necessaries, by the treasurer, fit for their journey; and that they use their utmost skill and ability to take a true observation of the latitude of the place, and that they do it with all convenient speed, and make return thereof to the next session of this court."

The commissioners proceeded to execute their commission, and accomplished it in nineteen days. The route they pursued is not described in their return; but they undoubtedly ascended Merrimack River wherever it was navigable, and followed up in the valley of that stream whenever obliged to take to the land. In either case, they must be considered as having completed their undertaking with great diligence and commendable despatch.*

* There is a charge in Johnson's account for making a boat, oars, &c., which

1652, October Session. The commissioners made their return to the General Court, and reported, "that, having procured Sergeant John Shearman, of Watertown, and Jonathan Ince,* student of Harvard College, as artists to go along with them, they found that Aquedahtan,† the name of the head of Merremack, where it issues out of the lake called Winnapuscakit, upon the first day of August, 1652,‡ was in latitude 43° 40′ 12″, besides those minutes which are to be allowed for the three miles north which run into the lake."§

Massachusetts had for years laid claim to the Province of New Hampshire, under the provision of her charter granting, on the north, all the lands extending three miles north of the river Merrimack, "or to the northward of any and every part thereof." She asserted her right of jurisdiction and government over the inhabitants upon the Piscataqua, on the ground that they were south of a line drawn due east and west through a point three miles north of any and every part of the Merrimack.

As early as 1638, Massachusetts "had sent men to discover Merrimack;" probably in consequence of the claim made by the Exeter settlers — Wheelwright and others — to the lands in Exeter, by virtue of an alleged deed from four

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shows the river navigation; while another charge, of three yokes of oxen and a horse, points to the land journey, where the river became impracticable by reason of drought or rapids.

* He graduated in 1650, in the same class with Chief-Justice Stoughton and President Hoar. He was distinguished for his early acquaintance with the Indian tongues. In November, 1657, he took passage for England in Captain James Garrett's well-appointed ship of four hundred tons. The vessel was never heard from after leaving Boston Harbor. — *Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections*, vol. i. pp. 202–3.

† In vol. iii. of the Colony Records it is called "Aquedahian."

‡ Two hundred years after this (in August, 1852), Sidney Willard, a descendant from Simon Willard in the seventh generation, was engaged in the regatta on Lake Winnipiseogee between the students of Harvard and Yale Colleges, and was intrusted with the heaviest oar on board the Harvard boat "Oneida," which won the race. Charles Jackson Paine, another descendant, was intrusted with the next heaviest oar.

§ The artists made their report to the commissioners, Oct. 19, 1652; and the commissioners incorporated the report in their return to the General Court.

Indian sagamores in 1629.* The settlements at Little Harbor, Portsmouth, and Dover, had been struggling into life; but their continued contentions, and their feeble efforts at government, were almost the only evidences which they had given of possessing any vitality. The principal inhabitants of both patents felt these troubles deeply; and, having no help from within, they looked to Massachusetts for assistance and protection. They drew up a petition to the colonial authorities in 1641, in which they set forth "the want of some good government among them, and desired some help in this particular from the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts Bay, whereby they might be ruled and ordered according unto God, both in church and commonweal, and for avoiding such unsufferable disorders whereby God had been much dishonored amongst them." They therefore submitted, in behalf of themselves and of the other patentees, to the jurisdiction and government of their more powerful neighbor. Massachusetts received the submission as justly her right under the true construction of her charter, and accepted the people under her government "as the rest of the inhabitants within the said jurisdiction are."† Exeter, on the petition of her own inhabitants, — "weary of their inefficacious mode of government," ‡ — was received, in like manner, in the course of the following year.§ At this time, it was sufficiently ascertained that the settlements upon Piscataqua River fell south of the line contended for by the Bay government.

But the occasion of the survey in which Willard was

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* See Appendix to Winthrop's History, vol. i. pp. 405 *et seq.*, Savage's edition, where the learned annotator enters into a very minute, thorough, and critical examination and analysis of this deed to prove it a forgery.

† Winthrop's History, vol. i. Hutchinson's History, vol. i.

‡ Belknap's History of New Hampshire, Farmer's edition.

§ "Massachusetts, by thus extending its wing over the inhabitants of New Hampshire, nourished and cherished them for near forty years; and to this must be attributed the growth and the present flourishing state of that Colony. The principal inhabitants, when the benefit was recent, in 1680, made a public and grateful acknowledgment of it." — *Hutchinson's History*, vol. i. p. 106.

engaged arose not from any controversy with the inhabitants of New Hampshire, who were well content with the wisely administered government and the wholesome sway of their more vigorous neighbor. The claims of Mason to the lands contained in his patents of Mariana in 1621,* Laconia in 1622,† and in his patent of New Hampshire in 1629, had long remained dormant, partly in consequence of his death, and partly from the troubled state of England. In 1652, an agent, who represented the estate of Mason, came to New England to look after the property of the patentee; and, in order to establish the title of his constituents, he brought suits against one of the tenants in possession. The General Court taking notice of these proceedings, and perhaps somewhat alarmed by the determined manner in which the Mason claim was urged, "ordered an accurate survey of the northern bounds of their patent to be made, — a thing which they had long meditated." ‡ In addition to this, the people of the Province of Maine, finding themselves in an uncomfortable position, — resembling somewhat that of New Hampshire, — were inclined to seek a similar relief. "Having run themselves aground in their government," says Hubbard, "and not well able to recover the stream again, they were willing to cast themselves upon the General Court of the Massachusetts, who, upon several considerations, passed an order and declaration about their right and title thereunto." § Kittery and Agamenticus submitted in the same year: Wells, Saco, and Cape Porpoise, followed in 1653. "For the clearing of the right and title

* Embracing all the land from the river of Naumkeag, — now Salem, — round Cape Ann to the river Merrimack, and up each of those rivers to the farthest head thereof; then to cross over from the head of the one to the head of the other; with all the islands lying within three miles of the coast. — *Belknap's History of New Hampshire*, Farmer's edition.

† This was a grant made to Gorges and Mason, jointly, of all the lands between the rivers Merrimack and Sagadehock, extending back to the great lakes and river of Canada. — *Ibid.*

‡ Belknap's History of New Hampshire, Farmer's edition.

§ Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, vol. xvi. p. 542.

of the Massachusetts Patent," adds Hubbard, "some skilful mathematicians were ordered that year to run the north line of the Massachusetts Patent according to the late interpretation of the bounds thereof."* This interpretation extended the patent as far as Casco Bay; and on this side, as well as on the line three miles north of the source of the river Merrimack at Lake Winnipiseogee, the space included in the survey was sufficient, both in length and breadth, to comprehend the whole of Mason's claim.

The purpose of Massachusetts to extend her sway over the Province of Maine, should the survey establish the right, did not pass without objection. Edward Godfrey, the man who rejoiced in the title of Governor of the Province, entered his solemn protest against the proposed measure. The General Court assured Godfrey that they had no intention of stretching their line beyond the true intent of their patent; that some years elapsed after the first settlement of Massachusetts before they knew the extent of their line, and the date or validity of other patents contained therein or bordering thereupon; and they were therefore slow to do any thing that might occasion any clashing until doubts were removed. They are now satisfied, they add, by the commissioners' line, that Maine falls within their jurisdiction; and as Maine has resisted the patent, and encroached upon them, they claim their just rights. They further state that a considerable part of the people of the Province is desirous of this change of government; therefore the General Court are willing to have the line run "by able artists, who shall upon oath make a true report thereof."†

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* Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, vol. xvi. p. 543. Jonas Clarke and Samuel Andrews — "both well skilled in mathematicks, having had the command of ships upon severall voyages" — were appointed to take the observations upon the sea-coast; which they did in October, 1653. — *Hazard's State Papers*, vol. i. pp. 591–2.

† Secretary Rawson's letter to Godfrey, 12. 4. 1652. — *Hazard's State Papers*, vol. i. pp. 564–6. In reply to the Secretary's letter, Godfrey wrote a strong remonstrance against this extension of jurisdiction (*ibid.* 567–8), but all to no purpose. The authority of Massachusetts was soon quietly established; and Godfrey himself was

The remarks that have been made show the importance of this undertaking, and the determined purpose of the colonial government. The selection of suitable agents became a matter of moment, and large consequences depended upon the result. Their appointment manifests the public consideration which they enjoyed. The trust was worthily bestowed, and the result was fully answerable to any expectations that could have been entertained in assuring Massachusetts of the strength of her title, and securing to her the territorial jurisdiction over a large country, — though not without sharp controversy, — until the unjust decision of the King's Council in 1740. This decision established the remarkable geographical fact, that north-westward is pretty much the same as north, and gave to New Hampshire a large slice of territory at the expense of Maine; while that other decision upon the boundary between Massachusetts Proper and New Hampshire not only wrested from the former all that had ever been claimed by New Hampshire, but gave to the latter Province, in addition, "a tract of country fourteen miles in breadth, and above fifty in length, more than she had ever claimed."* Massachusetts never had favor at court save during the time of Cromwell; but in no instance, with the exception of the abrogation of her first charter, was she ever so unrighteously dealt with as in these territorial controversies. The injustice was palpable and gross. The commissioners of Charles II., in their "narrative," state that, presently after the first settlement of Massachusetts, "a house was erected three large miles from Merrimack, which was for *seventeen* years called, and known to be, the bounds of Massachusetts;" that Wheelwright, when banished from the Colony, was "permitted to inhabit immediately beyond

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appointed one of the commissioners to hold annually a County Court at York, in conjunction with one of the Assistants. All the settlements were comprehended in one county, called Yorkshire.

* Belknap's History of New Hampshire, p. 257, Farmer's edition. Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, vol. ii. chap. 4.

the Bound House."* A few years before this "narrative," the General Court, in answer to the letter of their agent Leverett, October, 1658, forwarded a copy of their patent and of their artist's survey. They claimed that their patent was express as to their north bound; and that at their first coming over, the country being a wilderness, owing to a multitude of occasions, &c., they were hindered in their exact taking notice of then laying claim to the utmost extent of their limits, especially northward. "Yet," say they, "did we never set up our bounds 3 miles east of Merrimack, as the petition [George Rigby and others] mentions; but, as occasion was given, have always asserted the same limits that now we claim, though we knew not certainly, till tryal made, where it would fall."† At the May session of the General Court, 1665, the court set forth "certaine reasons tending to manifest that the patent-right of the charter doeth belong to the Massachusets Colony in New England." This somewhat elaborate paper was prepared on account of the commissioners of Charles claiming to exercise jurisdiction in Maine. Some additional evidence of the true source of the Merrimack is adduced, including the affidavits of Major Willard and Captain Johnson. Randolph, in 1676, indulges in his usual abuse, and says that Massachusetts, "having the pre-eminence in trade, strength, and riches, take the liberty to claim as far as their convenience and interest direct; never wanting a pretext of right to any place that is commodious for them; declaring they do not know the boundaries of their Commonwealth."‡ An interesting memorial of the survey in 1652 still exists. For more than a century afterwards, the whole country on the western shores of Lake Winnipiseogee remained an unbroken wilderness, covered with dense forests, penetrated only by the native Indian, or by the scouting parties of the English which were sent out from time to time to secure the frontier settlements from the murderous attacks of the savage foe. During all this

* Hutchinson's Collections. † Ibid. 320. ‡ Ibid. 485.

period, — and, indeed, until recently, — the existence of this memorial seems to have been unknown. On the very spot which the commissioners established as the most northerly line of the patent, — or, certainly, very near to that spot, — more than twenty years ago, in consequence of a dam having been thrown across the head of the wears at the point where Lake Winnepiseogee discharges its waters into the Upper Merrimack, a large rock was exposed to view,* "deeply embedded in the gravel, with its surface but little above the water, and about twenty feet in circumference." On this rock there is the following inscription; viz., —

EI SW
WP IOHN
ENDICVT
GOV

This points back unerringly to the time of the survey, and to the spot which the commissioners, in their return to the General Court, designate and establish as the north line of the patent; while the sculpture on the rock confirms the great fact, and marks the presence of the commissioners at that place, for that object, two hundred and six years ago. Endicott was then the Governor of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay; and the commissioners have very properly inscribed his name at full length, with the abbreviation WP for "worshipful."† It would have been equally

* This rock is said to have been first discovered by Messrs. Daniel Tucker and John T. Coffin, two gentlemen residing in that vicinity. They communicated the discovery to Colonel Carrigain, the compiler of the excellent map of New Hampshire, who made a particular examination of the rock, and became satisfied that it was "a real monument, and of undoubted antiquity." See Col. Carrigain's letter. — *New Hampshire Historical Society's Collections*, vol. iv. p. 194.

† Col. Carrigain thus renders these two letters; and adds, that "it is possible, though hardly probable, that WP may mean William Parks." Parks was a Roxbury man, prominent in the church there, and for many years a deputy to the General Court. "He and Johnson were great friends." But there is no evidence that he was in the expedition. His name occurs neither in the commissioners' return nor in the account of expenses. "James Prentise," "Good. Bull," and "one man for the jorney, and his work in preparing levall," are mentioned in Johnson's account, but not Parks. Besides, it would have been in bad taste, at that time, — an unheard-of instance, — to omit the titular designation of the chief magistrate.

proper for them to carve out their own names in full; but want of time, and the hardness of the stone, may have prevented. EI is intended for Edward Johnson, and SW for Simon Willard, the joint-commissioners, — associates in public, and friends in private, life. Besides their expenses, the court allowed them "twenty markes a peece for their pajnes." — *See note*, p. 25.

This simple memorial of an early and interesting fact in our annals is probably the oldest sculptured inscription of the Massachusetts colonists, and is deserving of preservation, not because it perpetuates the names of the commissioners, but because of its intimate and indissoluble connection with the history of the Colony, at a time when, on the one hand, she was preparing to ward off the attack of Mason's heirs; and, on the other, was establishing her claim to a wider jurisdiction, — one covering the whole of the westerly part of Maine.*

1652, October Session. "In answer to the petition of the inhabitants of Cambridge," Captain Willard, Captain Edward Johnson, and Sergeants Hale and Sherman, are appointed a committee to lay out three thousand acres of land, granted to Mr. Winthrop and his wife, at Shawshin; "to be done before the 24th day of 4th mo. next."

1652, October Session. "In answer to the petition of the inhabitants of Woobourne," . . . "Capt Symon Willard, Capt Edw. Johnson, Edw. Goffe, Tho. Danforth, Jno Bridge, Serjeant Hale, and S^{r}jant Sherman," were appointed "commissioners, to lay out the farmes graunted to Jno. Winthrop Esq, deceased, and to Thomas Dudley Esq Dep^{t} Goūn^{r} nere Shawshin . . . to be donne before the twenty fowerth day of the fowerth month next."

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* A gentleman signing himself "F. J.," writing from Centre Harbor to the editor of the "Boston Daily Advertiser," July 23, 1850, describes this rock as "a bowlder five or six feet in diameter;" and adds, that, in consequence of the Lowell manufacturing companies' purchase of the right to use the waters of the lake as a reservoir for their factories, this rock is going to decay, and the sculpture will be obliterated. He states that the rock might be preserved very easily by lifting it a few feet from its present bed, and supporting it solidly; "so that, at whatever the height at which" the Lowell companies "may need to have the waters here, the oldest memorial of our early enterprise and science may be in no danger."

1652, October Session. Captain Willard and Lieutenant Goodenow are appointed a committee to lay out land for Edmund Rice, of Sudbury, lying a mile from "Cochituate Brook," or thereabouts.

1653, May Session. Captain Willard and Sergeant Sherman, on Edmund Rice's petition, are appointed a committee to lay out two hundred acres to him near "the bound of Dedham."

1653, May Session. "Captain Willard and Sarjant John Sherman are ordered to lay out a tract of land for Mr. Wm. Parks, at a place called Nanacanacus."

1653, May Session. Captain Symon Willard "empowered to lay out foure hundred acres of upland at Nonacoike"* for Mr. Samuel Cole, of Boston, according to his petition, in satisfaction of fifty pounds adventured by him "in the common stocke 23 yeeres since."

1653, May Session. The court took into consideration "the insupportable charge the country is at in regard of the vast expenses at the courts that are kept in this jurisdiction;" and appointed a committee of eleven, of which Deputy-Governor Bellingham was chairman, and "Capt Willard" was one of the members, "to consider of such ways and means as may lessen the charges of the country, by lessening ( ) number of deputies; giving more power to commissioners in towns for ending of causes; referring what may be to inferior courts, that the General Court be not troubled with small matters, but to act only in matters of higher concernment; and whatever else they, or the major part of them, meeting, shall judge meet for the attainment of those ends."

There were forty-two deputies this year, representing thirty-one towns. At the next session in August, an Act was passed requiring the towns to be at "the whole charge" for their deputies, and leaving it optional with towns having "not more than thirty freemen" to be represented or not. This relieved the Colony from a part of "the vast expenses."

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* In the House record, the word is "Nonatocke." The name in the text, taken from the fourth volume of the Colonial Records, is more nearly correct. It is the same as Nonaicoicus, where Willard had a large farm, as will be more particularly mentioned in another connection.

1653, May Session. On the petition of several of the inhabitants of Concord and Woburn, and one from Mr. Eliot in behalf of the Indians, for land bordering on Merrimack River, "Pawtuckett," to make plantations, it was voted to grant the petition on certain conditions; and "Capt Willard and Capt Edward Johnson are hereby appointed to lay out the said plantations or tounships, the English at the charge of the petitioners, the Indians at the charge of the country, within one month after the end of this [May] session, that neither of the plantations be retarded." The grant to the Concord and Woburn petitioners was to be void, unless they settled the plantation with twenty families, at least, within two years, "by building and planting . . . so as they may be in capacitje of injoying all the ordinances of God there."

1654, May Session. Major Simon Willard, Mr. Edward Jackson, and Thomas Danforth, commissioners "in reference to the petition of the selectmen of Watertown and Christopher Grant, with others of the inhabitants, . . . to hear, consider, and determine all differences between the same parties." The controversy was "concerning divers grants and allotments sundry years past" touching lands. There had been many irregularities in the grants of, 1st, plough-land; 2d, land in lieu of township; 3d, remote meadows; 4th, farms; and, in consequence, great inconvenience, and clashing of titles, had occurred, which this commission was called upon to adjust and settle. The commissioners met at Watertown in February following, and had a long and full hearing. The result of their deliberations, and the order regulating and determining the whole matter then in controversy, and also in relation to subsequent divisions of lands, are contained in an elaborate report covering three closely written pages of manuscript.

1655, May Session. "Mr. Symon Eires, Jno. Stone," and several others, inhabitants of Watertown, petition about "the confirmation of lands formerly graunted them." The court refer them to the return of the commissioners, "Major Willard, Mr. Danforth, and Ensigne Sherman, . . . whose acts this court doth approove & contjnew."

1655, May Session. In answer to the petition of Mr Edmond Browne, Peter Noyes, sen., Walter Haines, and divers others, inhabitants of Sudbury, Major Willard, Ensign John Sherman, and Mr Thomas Danforth, are appointed a committee to hear and determine all the differences between all or any of the inhabi-

tants of Sudbury in reference to what is mentioned in their petition.

The whole town seems to have been in a ferment similar to that of Watertown in 1654. There were angry differences among the inhabitants; titles were disputed; so also was the rule about "stinting" the commons; while those who agreed to the rule for dividing the "two-mile" grant endeavored to exclude those who opposed it from their rightful interest in the grant. The town-records had been "crossed and defaced" without mutual consent. "Clamorous reports" had been spread against "the reverend Mr [Edmund] Browne, pastor of the church there," concerning a part of the lands in his possession.

It was no very pleasant duty for the committee to endeavor to heal these controversies; but they went to work in an earnest spirit, and labored diligently.

In the long and full report of the committee (May, 1657), they speak of the "sad, uncomfortable estate of the inhabitants," while the case was pending; and proceed to adjust the titles of the various parties to their lands, settle the rights of commonage, fully justify the worthy pastor, and direct that the town-records be kept by the recorder of the County Court "until there be a loving composure and agreement," &c.

To this report Mr. Browne and seventeen others of the principal inhabitants appended their consent, "with all harty thanks vnto the commissioners for theire paines, faithfulnes, & loue therein expressed;" and entreated the court "to confirme and rattefy the same for the p'venting of all after trouble, & for settling of peace & truth amongst vs."

"The court doth allow & approove of the retourne of the committee above written."

1655, Nov. 13. The General Court expressed great apprehension on account of the difficulty of "procuring suitable supplies;" and a committee from each county was chosen to consider how

"both merchandizing may be encouraged, and the hands also of the husbandman may not wax weary in his employment, and for begetting a right understanding and a loving compliance betweene both," &c. On the committee from Suffolk were the governor [Endicott] and others; from Middlesex, "Major Simon Willard, Mr Richard Russell, Capt. Norton, Capt Johnson, Mr Collins, and Mr Joseph Hill."

This resulted in a law (May Session, 1656) requiring "that all hands not necessarily employed in other occasions, as women, boys, and girls," should "spin according to their skill and ability;" and authorizing the selectmen in every town to "consider the condition of every family, and assess them" accordingly "at one or more spinners."* We may smile at the authoritative stringency of this law, and its domiciliary character, by which all persons were regarded, as it were, members of one common family, and responsible for honest and diligent employment. It shows, however, the high estimate placed upon industry, and the firm determination that all should labor according to their respective ability towards the building-up of a strong commonwealth. It places honor in work, and asserts that dignity of labor which has ever been the pride of Massachusetts.† No drones were allowed in the hive.

1655, November. Major Willard was chairman of the committee appointed to report to the General Court upon the difficulties between Cambridge Church and the inhabitants on the south side of the river, who wished to erect a village. The other gentlemen on the committee were Messrs. Richard Russell, Thomas Clarke, and Eleazer Lusher. Before the hearing, Willard seems to have been so fully engrossed in the case of Lancaster — mentioned on p. 175 —

* "A whole spinner" was required to spin, for thirty weeks each year, three pounds of linen, cotton, or woollen, per week; and so in proportion for half or quarter spinners.

† It was at this time that Cromwell was using his endeavors to draw off the New-England people to his newly conquered Island of Jamaica, as he had previously sought to prevail with them to settle in Ireland. Happily for the cause of civil and religious liberty, he was unsuccessful in both instances.

as to prevent his attendance at Cambridge; and a change was made, in part, in the members of the committee.

1656, May Session. Eight thousand acres of land were granted to the town of Billerica, provided that the town be seated with twenty families, at least, within three years: y^{t} the ordinances of God may be setled & encouraged in the sajd place. Major Willard, Captain Edward Jackson, and Mr Edward Johnson, — with Thomas Danforth, or any other surveyor, — were ordered to lay out the land. The committee made their return to the General Court at the May Session, 1657; * and it was accepted.

In April, 1656, he was chairman of the Board of Arbitrators previously selected to adjust the difficulties which had grown up among the inhabitants of Lancaster within less than three years of their corporate existence. The arbitrators, among other matters, were called upon to regulate the division of the lands; and to have a care for the permanent establishment of the church, then in the charge of good Master Rowlandson. For the latter purpose, they stated and settled the amount of his salary, and the mode in which it should be paid.

A portion of the decree of the arbitrators (Articles No. xi.–xxiv.) remains on the old and fragmentary volume of the "Town and Proprietors' Records," † and is thus certified by them; viz., —

"Dated and confirmed this 25th of April 1656; witness our hands

"Simon Willard
"Edward Johnson
"Edmund Rice."

1657, May Session. But, notwithstanding the proceedings of the arbitrators, and their entire success in making a definitive settlement of many points of controversy, the inhabitants were unable to

* Of this large addition to the territory of Billerica, six thousand three hundred acres were laid out on the east side, and the residue on the west side, of Merrimack River.

† This volume is very old, — belonging to the seventeenth century; but, old as it is, it is a copy of the original.

proceed without further assistance; so that, at the May Session in 1657, they preferred a petition to the General Court, wherein they state, that, in 1656, sundry persons had obtained for them "the full liberty of a plantation to choose selectmen, and to order their prudentials, as other towns do; . . . but find, upon this short time of experiment," that they are unable "to act and order their prudentials by public town-meetings as a town, by reason of many inconveniences and encumbrances," or "by selectmen, by reason of the scarcity of freemen — being but three in number" — limiting their choice. Wherefore they ask for the appointment of a committee "to put them into such a way of order as they are capable of, or any other way which the Honourable Court may judge safest and best, both for the present and future good of them and their town," &c.; and that the committee "may stand till they be able to make return to the General Court that the town is sufficiently able to order their prudential affairs according as the law requires." Thereupon the court "do order and appoint Major Symon Willard, Captain Edward Johnson, and Mr. Thomas Danforth, commissioners; empowering them to order the affairs of the said Lancaster, and to hear and determine their several differences and grievances which obstruct the present and future good of the town; standing in power till they be able to make report to the General Court that the town is sufficiently able to order its own affairs according as the law requires."

The commissioners held their first meeting in Lancaster, Sept. 8, 1657, and proceeded vigorously to their work. They heard the informations and complaints of both parties, and reviewed the town-records. They appointed selectmen; provided for the encouragement of the minister, for the erection of a house of worship, pound and stocks, and for the laying out of town and county highways. They made by-laws respecting the lands, the recovery of fines and forfeitures, the assessment and levy of taxes, the preservation and safe custody of the town-records, and provided for accommodations of land for five or six able men to dwell in the town. They also adjusted various difficulties that had arisen in the plantation, and gave such directions and instructions to the selectmen as might

enable them to proceed with a distinct understanding of their functions.

This state of things continued for seven years; the commissioners filling up the vacancies in the board of selectmen, and giving such directions as their supervision required. But, notwithstanding the commission was instituted by the request of the inhabitants in the day of their great trouble, and exercised its powers very discreetly and wisely, so far as I can judge, its continuance, year after year, must have been the occasion of a growing mortification. Almost every thing seems to have been subject either to the early direction or final control of the commissioners. The selectmen intimate to the town "that there was not such a loving compliance as they could desire, and that it was hard to repel the boilings and breaking-forth of some persons difficult to please." Finally, in 1665,* the town petitioned the commissioners for liberty "to choose townsmen † within themselves, so long as the commissioners see a loving concurrence therein" among the inhabitants. The commissioners — thankful enough, no doubt, to be relieved from the numerous journeys, and from the highly responsible, onerous, and somewhat ungracious duty that had been intrusted to them by the chief authority — made no long delay in answering and granting the request; which they did in the following terms, viz.: —

"Gentlemen, and loving Friends, — We have, although, through straits of time, but briefly, perused and considered what you have presented; and do, with much thankfulness to the Lord, acknowledge his favor to yourselves, and not only to you, but to all that delight in the prosperity of God's people and children, in your loving compliance together. That this mercy may be continued to you is our earnest desire, and shall be our prayers to God. And wherein we may, in our capacity, contribute thereto, we do account it our duty to the Lord and you; and, for that end,

* March 6. † Selectmen.

do fully concur and consent to your proposals for the ratifying of what is, and for liberty among yourselves, observing [the] directions and laws of the General Court for the election of your selectmen for the future.

"Simon Willard.
"Thomas Danforth.
"Edward Johnson.*

"Dated 8th 1mo 1664." †

1657, May Session. Major Willard was on the committee with Captain Daniel Gookin, Major Atherton, and Captain Edward Johnson, with the full power of the General Court "to hear and determine all differences between Mr. Henry Dunster and Mr. Thomas Danforth, in behalf of the children of Mr. Josse Glover." And the same committee were empowered to "hear and determine all differences between the said Henry Dunster and the country, in reference to his accounts."

On this last subject, in October following, the committee made their report, signed by Gookin and Willard; in which, after an examination, they speak of "the diligent service of Mr. Dunster for some years, as President of the College," and "do humbly conceive his recompence then received was short of his labor, being much *more* ‡ than is allowed in that service at present; and therefore do we judge it for *the honour of the country* to give him the additional reward of one hundred pounds, or at least to

* Brookfield was in a worse situation than Lancaster, and for a longer period. It was incorporated in 1673. After Philip's war, it remained unsettled for several years. From 1692 till 1718, a committee from other towns, appointed by the General Court, possessed entire authority in all municipal proceedings in this remote settlement, — as much so as the inhabitants themselves, in other plantations, in general town-meetings assembled. In 1718, Brookfield was invested with the powers and privileges of a town. — *Fiske's Historical Discourse.*

There were several other towns, I think, settled by humble men, that required this peculiar guardianship.

† Wednesday, March 8, 1665.

‡ The word *more* is written over the line, apparently in another hand, and with lighter ink. The sense evidently requires the word *less.*

acquit him of any debt due to the country; and all this with submission to the Honourable Court." *

"The Court considering that Mr. Dunster, in the time when he was President, was very serviceable to his utmost to advance the good of the College, for which no full recompence has been allowed, judge meet to acquit and discharge him of that debt he owes to the country, which is not above forty or fifty pounds, as a gratuity for his good service."

I find no report of the committee upon the controversy relating to Glover's estate. Dunster, it will be remembered, married the widow of the Rev. Josse Glover. After her death, he was involved in lawsuits with John Glover, and Mrs. Priscilla Appleton, wife of John Appleton of Ipswich, children of Mrs. Dunster by her former husband. From 1653, for four years, various suits were entertained between the parties, with varied success. Mr. Glover's

* It does not appear that Atherton and Johnson were present at the hearing. They did not sign the report. Perhaps they may have participated in the cruel prejudices against the President, on account of his Anabaptist views. Gookin was his townsman during the presidency; and, from his enlarged and benevolent disposition, — as was afterwards signally illustrated by his defence of the Christian Indians in Philip's war, — was probably the friend of Dunster. Willard was connected by marriage with the President, having married his sister, and, after her death, his niece or cousin. Dunster was a man of marked excellence of character; learned, religious, conscientious, charitable, and forgiving. He labored and suffered for the good of the College, and expended of his substance in its service. His insufficient and meagre salary was paid, not in cash, but by transfers of town-rates, of which he was enforced to be the collector, suffering all the attending delays, vexations, depreciations, and losses. In May, 1655, after he had resigned his office, the corporation of the College represented to the General Court that there were due to him about forty pounds, and that one hundred pounds should be allowed to him besides, "in consideration of his extraordinary pains in raising up and carrying on the College for so many years past; and desire it may be seriously considered, and hope it may make much for the *country's honourable discharge* in the hearts of all, and perpetual encouragement of their servants in such public works, if it be attended." At the preceding October Session, Dunster had himself preferred a very touching petition to the court; but it was coldly received, and its prayer cruelly denied. President Quincy, in his valuable history of the College, after detailing the foregoing proceedings, remarks that "the result of the whole affair was that he obtained nothing from the General Court." Want of public spirit, and an imperfect estimate of the interests of letters, were not peculiar to the Legislature of that day. Our own time — a time of wide prosperity — tells the same story.

estate was large, for that period. It embraced a farm, stock, &c., in Sudbury; a house in Boston; the printing-press in Cambridge, and the profits thereof; the house in Cambridge in which Steven Day, the printer, lived; a quantity of silver-plate; a valuable library; &c. I find no less than fourteen suits upon the subject-matter of Glover's estate recorded at length in the records of the Middlesex County Court. It was not until the award in the last suit was published that Messrs. Willard, Gookin, Atherton, and Johnson were clothed with the full powers of the General Court, — the court, in the last resort, to hear and determine all matters in controversy.

1658. "Major Simon Willard and Thomas Danforth are appoynted by this court to audit the account of the Treasurer of this County, and present what they find unto the next County Court at Cambridge." [Middlesex County Court, 25th June, 1658.]

1658, October Session. The court, appreciating the value of the fur-trade with the Indians, had passed a law in May, 1657, declaring that it belonged to the "Commonwealth;" appointed a highly respectable committee, "with full power, to find out the best way and means, . . . and to contract with such able and honest persons as shall tender themselves to prosecute the Indian trade for the best bennefitt of the countrje, and suppressing all irregularitjes therein."*

At this session, the committee made return of their contract; viz., —

1. "We contracted wth ye wor'pff^{ll} Majo^{r} Willard, Mr. Brenton, Ensigne Wheeler, & Tho. Hincksman, for ye trade of Merremacke £25
2. Thomas Brookes & partners for the trade of Concord £5
3. Mr Pinchon, for the trade of Springfield and of Norwottocke . . . . . £20."

* See *ante*, pp. 149–50, 157–8.

And with four others, in different places and smaller sums. The Merrimack trade was the most valuable in the Colony.

1659, May Session. "It is ordered that Major Symon Willard, Mr. Ephraim Child, and Lft. Richard Sprague, shall [be], and hereby are, appointed a committee to draw up an order which may prevent deceit in making and dressing of cloths, and present the same to the next session of the court."

The report of the committee, if any were made, is not recorded.

1659, November Session. The Deputy-Governor Bellingham, Symon Willard, and Thomas Danforth, constituting the judges of the County Court held at Cambridge in October, 1659, examined the matters in controversy depending between Edward Goffe's executors and his son Samuel Goffe, pursuant to an order from the General Court, and made a full and detailed report at this session.

Edward Goffe was a rich man, for that day. Among other things, the son claimed "the houses and lands" of the father, besides two hundred and ten pounds in money, and a double portion of the estate. This modest claim was on an alleged verbal promise made by the father "for obtaining the marriage of the son" . . . to a "young woman" named Hannah Bernard. The judges determined, among other points, "that the son may not, wthout great injustice to the widdow and his fower sisters, be countenanced therein;" and the General Court approved of their return in every particular.

1659, November Session. Symon Willard, Humphrey Atherton, Thomas Danforth, Roger Clapp, Isaacke Heath, and William Parkes, made return of "the bounds of the Indian plantation called Naticke."

The committee exclude the matter in controversy between Dedham and Natick. Their return was allowed.

At the next session (May, 1660), Messrs. Willard, Ather-

ton, and Danforth reported, that, on a measurement of the tract by order of the court, the quantity of land "was farre less than was supposed by the committee that stated the same; and not only so," the committee add, "but the most considerable lands . . . taken vp by the English before the Indians graunt, wh. tendeth much to the discouragement of the poore natives, wh. are willing to *shroud themselves vnder our protection* from the malice of such as are theire and our enemyes." The "poore natives" were justified in "shrouding themselves under the protection of the committee," who proceed to enlarge the Indian bounds, clear of all former grants.

"This court allowes and approoves of this returne."

1661, May Session. Complaints having been made to the General Court by Wassamegin, Sagamore of Quabacooke,* and the Indians inhabiting there, against Uncas, Sachem of the Mohegans, for killing some of the former tribe, and taking others captive, &c., Major Willard was directed to order "three or four armed men, well accommodated in all respects with a proportion of pouder, bulletts, and match, to be sent from Lancaster to Quabacooke unto the said Wassamegin, there to stay a night or two, and to shoote off their musketts so often, and in such uise, as the major shall direct, to terrify the enemjes of Wassamegin; and so to returne home againe."

He was to advise Wassamegin and his men to be very careful of injuring, or in any way of provoking, Uncas; and was further ordered, "vpon manifest invasion and assault of the enemy, to act and doe according to the laws in case of alarum,† so far as to him seems necessary; and this shall be his sufficient warrant for the same."

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* I suppose that Quabacooke was to the west of Lancaster, and not far from the Wachusett. The tribe there inhabiting may have been, and probably was, a part of the Massachusetts race. Wassamegin seems to be identified with Wassamagoin, one of the two "sachems near to the great hill to the west, called Wachusett," who were received under the protection of the government of Massachusetts in 1644. — *Winthrop's History*, vol. ii. p. 156.

† The law [1652], in case of alarum, required the major to procure intelligence

In aid of the benevolent efforts of the Apostle Eliot, Major Willard was directed by the General Court to solicit these Indians to "lett the English haue the bringing vp of those captiues now to be released, & of some of theire sonnes also, by meanes whereof they may the better know & serve God, & be the more helpfull to theire oune kinsfolke, freinds, & countrymen, afterward; and that Mr. Eliot be desired to second & forward the motion to Wassamegin & his subjects."

1662, July 8. Messrs. Simon Willard, Richard Russell, and Thomas Danforth, make their award as referees under the will of Grace Porter, of Watertown, in a controversy between her son, Ensign John Sherman, and her daughter, Elizabeth Smith.*

"5. 12. 1643." Cutshamequin and Agawam, Josias the heir of Chickatabot, "came to the governor, and, in their own and the names of all the sachems of Watchusett, and all the Indians from Merrimack to Tecticut (Taunton), tendered themselves to our government, and gave the governor a present of thirty fathoms of wampum, and offered to come to the next court to make their acknowledgment." — *Winthrop's History*, vol. ii. pp. 153–4. Then follows, at p. 156, in May, 1644, the coming-in, at the sitting of the General Court, of Cutshamequin and Squaw Sachem, Mascononoco, "Nashacowam and Wassamagoin, — the two sachems near to the great hill to the west, called Wachusett." — *Ut supra.* The Massachusetts tribe held dominion over the Nashaways at Lancaster, and probably over the Indians at Quabacooke, who seem to have been the neighbors of the Nashaways on the west. — See "Lancaster Centennial," p. 60. Cutshamequin's wigwam was near to Dorchester Mill.

1662, October Session. "Major Symon Willard, Jn°. Parker, & Jonathan Danforth, to lay out the Indians allowanc of land (five hundred acres) according to the intent of the first grant in y^t^ place to Mr Winthrop; and that Mr Winthrop have his farme lajd him out of the lands adjoyning, according to his grant."

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of the state of the place "alarumed or assayled, and to order assistance to them from any othē companje or companjes of his regement, as the case shall requier."

* Middlesex Probate Records, vol. ii.

The committee made their return at the May Session, 1664. These Indians were "the inhabitants of Waymesick," at the junction of Concord and Merrimack Rivers. The deficiency in the Winthrop grant of three thousand acres was made up to the heirs of Mrs. Margaret Winthrop elsewhere.*

1663, May Session. "There having bin seuerall things presented to this court on consideration concerning the militia, for the rectifying what is amisse, & the better setling of the same, it is ordered . . . that Capt Daniel Gookin, Majo^{r} Symon Willard, Majo^{r} General Jno Leueret, Capt Francis Norton, & Capt Roger Clap, be a com'ittee to drawe vp such orders as they shall judge necessary in refference to what is before exprest, & to present the same to the next session of the court in October."

In pursuance of their report at the October Session, a law was passed: —

1. That the commissions of inferior officers should stand good, notwithstanding the death or removal of their superior officer; 2. That soldiers, "immediately after their dismission vpon trayning dajes," lodge their arms in their several quarters; 3. That they be forbidden, under a penalty, from "vajnely expending theire time & powder by inordinate shooting in the day or night after theire release;" 4. That they be punished for disobedience to the "lawfull com'ands of their superior officers;" 5. That the limitation of companies of troop [of horse] to seventy persons each, and the allowance of five shillings annually to each trooper, be repealed; and that no one shall be admitted "a listed trooper but such whom themselves, or parents vnder whose gouernm^{t} they are, doe pay in a single country rate for one hundred pounds estate," &c.

1665, May Session (June 1). "His majestjes com'issioners presenting to this court a paper of certeine objections ag^{t} seuerall lawes, & expressions in our lawes, & seuerall proposalls wch they com'ended to this courts consideration, wch are on file, the court, being ready to breake vp, — hauing satt long, — judged it meete to order & appoint the honored gouerno^{r} (Bellingham) & Majo^{r} Willard, wth Mr Edward

* See *ante*, p. 159.

Collins, & Mr Edward Jackson, & Ensigne Daniel Fisher, a com'ittee to pervse those exceptions wch his majestjes com'issioners hath made against our lawes, & to consider what is necessary to be donne in order therevnto, & present the same to the court." *

1666, May Session. "On the request of the deputjes of the County of Norfolke, Majo^{r} Symon Willard is appointed by this court to keepe the county courts at Hampton & Salisbury for the yeare ensuing." †

1667, May Session. In the return of a committee, of eight thousand acres of land laid out to Concord in 1666, mention is made of one thousand eight hundred acres "formerly granted to Majo^{r} Willard."

Reference will be made to this grant in the sequel.

1667, May Session. "In ans^{r} to the petition of Mrs Grace Bulkley, ye relict of ye late Mr Peter Bulkley," Major Symon Willard, Mr. John Parker, and Mr. John Furnill, were appointed a committee "to repaire to Concord, at such time as Majo^{r} Willard shall appoint, & call all partjes concerned before them, & make their report," &c.

The subject seems chiefly to be in relation to "flowing," which has been a very fruitful source of litigation in the present century. The careful return of the committee, at the next May session of the General Court, was "approoved."

1670, May Session. "The Court, considering the honoured Gouerno^{r}s [Bellingham] age, & the Dep^{ty} Governor's [Willoughby] infirmitje, doe release them from being of the com'ittee for the toune of Marlborough; & doe appoint Majo^{r} Willard to joyne wth Mr Russell & Majo^{r} Generall Leueret, to be a com'ittee to regulate that affaire." That affair was to hear and determine their "greivances and differences." In June, 1671, a change was

* Further reference will be made to the commissioners' proceedings on a subsequent page.

† His numerous sittings in Middlesex — some seventy or eighty in number — will be noticed in the sequel.

made in the committee; and "Mr Stoughton and Cap.t Hugh Mason" were associated with Willard "to effect all things yet remayning as the setling peace at Marlborough."

The inhabitants seem to have been in a very disturbed state, equally with the inhabitants of Sudbury and Watertown, years before, when Major Willard was on the committee to heal their divisions, and to have become involved in very grave and complicated difficulties in relation to their land-titles, ever in a new country occasioning protracted and complex litigation.

The committee were not able to report until the May session, 1674. "Seuerall journeys," they say, "we have made to them, and much tjme we have spent in hearing and discussing matters of difference and difficultjes amongst them, the result of all which is now mostly conteyned in the new toune booke, which we haue caused to be finished," containing the fundamental orders and grants, and the particular stating and bounding of all the lands laid out.

"This new toune booke . . . we haue by our order publicly approoved, enstamping vpon it what authority is wt^h^ us to convey, humbly representing to this honor'd Court that their acceptance & confirmation thereof will be, in our apprehensions, a competent way, and (as matters are now circumstanced) the likeliest way for the attainement of the peace of that place, and a foundation of future good to them . . .

"Symon Willard
"Wm Stoughton
"Hugh Mason."

"The Court thankfully accepts of the labour & paynes of this com'ittee and doe . . . allow & confirme the toune booke by them finished & stated as aboue, wch toune booke shall from henceforth be the authentick record of the toune of Marlborough as to the seuerall particculars therein conteyned & concluded."

1672, May Session. In answer to the petition of several of the inhabitants of Concord and Sudbury for "preventing damage by overflowing on their meadows," "the Court doeth order & impouer

the honoured Dep^{t}y Goū, Jno Leuret, Esq, Majo^{r} Symon Willard &c . . . to order & determine whateuer may be judged by them necessary for the end desired."

1675, May Session. "Symon Willard Esq is appointed to keepe the County Courts in Douer & Yorks for this yeare ensuing."

Philip's war broke out in the following month, involving the Colony in the deepest distress, and so fully engrossing the time and thoughts of Major Willard in his chief military command in Middlesex, as probably to prevent his holding these terms of the court.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SIMON WILLARD.

(Continued.)

At the May Session of the General Court in 1653 (June 2), Major-General Denison was ordered to issue his warrants to the several towns in Middlesex, directing them to send in their votes for sergeant-major "within one month." Accordingly, in the same summer, pursuant to the law then in force, the "train soldiers," consisting of freemen and those who had taken the oath of fidelity, made their nomination. When the votes were returned, and opened at the shire-town, it was found that the choice had fallen on Captain Simon Willard; and, the votes being "presented" to the major-general, he "instaulled, confirmed, and established" Willard in the new office. The sergeant*-major was the chief military officer in his county, and was next in rank to the sergeant*-major-general, who had command of all the military forces of the Colony. The majors and their families were exempted from the operation of the law against "excesse in apparrell." In the preamble to this law, great complaint is made of the "jntollerable excesse and bravery" that have crept in, "especially among people of meane condition . . . taking vppon them the garbe of gentlemen, by wearing gold or silver lace, or points at their knees, or to walk in great bootes,† or weomen of the same

* This prefix fell gradually into disuse in the latter days of the Colony.

† This provision about great boots was on account of the scarcity of leather in the Colony.

rancke to weare silke or tiffany hoodes or scarfes." All these offenders were to be assessed in the "country-rates at two hundred pounds estates." Magistrates and other public officers were also exempted, and "any other whose education and emplojments have binn above the ordjnary degree, or whose estates have binn considerable, though now decajed."*

The law military, which extended to all the duties of the soldier of every rank, was very minute in whatever pertained to discipline, and demanded a constant state of preparation to meet and repel all hostile attacks. The Colony, in a degree, resembled an armed camp. Even persons exempt from military service, with some exceptions, were required to appear twice every year, completely armed, "to bee exercised;" and not only so, but lads from ten to sixteen years of age were required to be instructed on the usual training-days, by some experienced soldier, "in ye exercise of armes, as small guns, half pikes, bowes & arrowes," if not "against yir parents minds."

It was no holiday enjoyment in which the soldier indulged, gaudily dressed, and marching to the sound of sweetly discoursing music. It was no valorous exploit of carpet-knight gathering a harvest of conquests in the smiles of the fair, with the rabble crowd in full escort, and feasted and fêted after a few hours of pleasant tramp. The rough pastime of the Colony soldier was found in the eight† days of hard drilling each year, and the exciting apprehension that his sleep might be invaded by the sound of the war-whoop and the blow of the tomahawk, or that the shrieks of wife and children might suddenly arouse him to buckle on the harness for the conflict, to repel the insidious foe, and

* This savored somewhat of a privileged order. The law was honestly designed to suppress a great evil in a new and poor country, and perhaps was as wise and practicable as subsequent sumptuary laws on our statute-book, even down to the present day.

† During all the time that Willard was in command of the Concord company. It was reduced to six days in 1660.

pursue him in his noiseless tread, through forest and river, far beyond the dwelling of civilized man. Hardy men, of iron will and determined purpose, trained by the discipline of deprivation and suffering under an inclement sky, and at all seasons of the year; ever watchful, ever ready, with their arms beside them, whether in the field, by the fireside, or in the house of God, — such were the Colonial soldiers, and of this material were they constituted.

The commander — not exempt from the hazards and labors that were the constant experience of his men, who were gathered together from the sparse and remote settlements, over roads, if deserving the name, that admitted no carriage — must be prepared to place himself at their head, in a position where military tactics were of little avail, but where the sudden onslaught demanded the keen eye, the utmost prudence, and the most rapid movement. These commanders were chosen for work, not for play; and were continued for years in the service. So it was with Willard. From the time that he was first designated to exercise the military band in Concord, he continued in the military service of the Colony — most of the time on the very frontier of civilization — until his death, a period of forty years.

In the spring of 1654, he was chosen assistant; and held the office, by annual election, for twenty-two successive years. He was again chosen for the twenty-third year; but his death occurred before the meeting of the General Court.

The duties of the assistants, as they were called by the charter, or magistrates, which became their more usual designation, were numerous, various, and important.* After a few years, the governor, deputy-governor, and assistants constituted a distinct branch of the General Court.† The

* In their judicial capacity, they retained their chartered title; viz., the Court of Assistants.

† During the time that Major Willard was one of the assistants, Endicott was

deputies, or representatives of the towns, deliberated in a body by themselves, and had their own speaker and clerk. As the upper branch of the Legislature, the magistrates had power to initiate laws and orders equally with the deputies; and each branch had a negative upon the other. They were also the constitutional advisers of the governor; and a major part could call the General Court together "upon urgent occasion," but had no separate power to dissolve or adjourn it.

As a judicial tribunal, the Court of Assistants — which then held its terms semi-annually in Boston — was clothed with power to hear and determine appeals from inferior courts, to decree divorces, and to hear and determine all capital and criminal causes extending to life, member, or banishment; and when, from extended commerce and navigation, maritime cases became frequent, this court was clothed with admiralty jurisdiction, "to be issued by the bench, without jury, unless the court should see cause to the contrary." The assistants or magistrates were also judges, *ex officio*, of the county courts in their respective counties, and might attend also in other counties by appointment from the General Court; "together with such persons of worth, where there shall need be, as shall, from time to time, be appointed by the General Court at the nomination of the freemen of the county, to be joined in commission with the magistrates, so that they may be five in all." Of these five, three were allowed to sit at the terms of the County Court, one of the three being a magistrate. This tribunal had full power to hear and determine all civil causes except divorces, and all criminal causes not extending to life, member, or banishment; to constitute clerks and other officers; summon juries of inquest and of trials; exercise the whole function of a Probate Court or Ordinary in the settlements of estates; and other kindred service.

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governor for ten years, Bellingham for nine, and Leverett for three. In the same period, Edicott was deputy-governor one year, Bellingham ten, Willoughby six, Leverett two, and Symonds three.

At a subsequent period, this court was clothed with large powers as a Court of Chancery, upon bill of complaint or information, to decree and determine according to the rule of equity, *secundum æquum et bonum*, and to grant execution, subject to appeal. This equity jurisdiction was given, saith the General Court, because "there hath been no way provided for relief against the rigour of the common law but by application to the General Court, where, by reason of the weighty affairs of the country of more public concernment, particular persons have been delayed, to their no small trouble and charge, and also great expense occasioned to the publick by the long attendance of so many persons as that court consists of to hear and determine personal causes brought before them." This law, which was made for the double purpose of relieving the General Court and saving delays and expenses to the parties, indicates the origin of a power which the Legislature have still occasionally exercised, of relieving parties who have not strictly complied with the requisitions of statute in their proceedings; such as confirming imperfect sales of real estate; also the doings of justices of the peace who have performed official service without first having been sworn, &c. This law, which was passed in 1685, was not long in force. The subsequent laws passed in the first and second years of the Province charter were negatived by the king.

There were special courts for strangers. The governor or deputy-governor, and any two magistrates, — and, when neither the governor nor deputy-governor could attend, any three magistrates, — were authorized, at the request of any stranger, to call a special court to try causes civil and criminal — triable in any county court — that might arise between strangers, or wherein a stranger was a party. At a subsequent period, each magistrate had power to grant search-warrants; to apprehend disorderly persons in cases of misdemeanor, or violent suspicion thereof. The magistrate, in his own county, constituted a court for the trial of civil causes, not exceeding forty shillings, without a jury; also

for the trial of small criminal causes, with power to impose a fine not exceeding forty shillings. This jurisdiction continued during the existence of the first charter, with the exception of the three years preceding the overthrow of Andros. Under the second charter, it belonged to justices of the peace created by executive appointment. I will add, that the magistrates were the only persons allowed to solemnize marriages.

Thus we see what large and important interests were intrusted to the assistants, whether as a body or singly, and the extent of that confidence which must have been placed in them by a community sagacious to discern and wise to determine. By virtue of their office, they had similar jurisdiction, in the early Commonwealth, to that which is now possessed respectively by the Governor's Council, the Senate, the Supreme Judicial Court, and the Courts of Common Pleas, Probate, and Admiralty, and Justices of the Peace, — the great concerns of life, liberty, and property.

In the same year that Willard was called to the "Council Board," he was placed in command of an expedition set on foot by the Commissioners of the United Colonies against the Nianticks, — a tribe of the Narragansets, whose sachem was Ninigret. Their chief seat was in the south-westerly corner of Rhode Island,* bordering upon Connecticut. As the circumstances preceding and attending this expedition are points of some interest in the annals of the Colony, and in the personal history of Major Willard, the expedition will deserve a particular mention.

The sacrifice of Miantonomo, the distinguished chief of the Narraganset tribe, to the vengeance of Uncas,

* Their territory embraced the towns of Westerly and Charlestown. — *Collections of the Rhode-Island Historical Society*, vol. iii. p. 304. "The name Nyantic has been, by some writers, inconsiderately appropriated to the town of Lime, though properly belonging to the south-west part of Rhode Island." — *Ibid.* 27.

chief sachem of the Mohegans, took place in the year 1643, by direction of the Commissioners of the United Colonies. This is not the place to discuss the conduct of the commissioners. It has been considered as without warrant, and cruel. But a learned and exact writer, intimately versed in New-England history, has entered upon their defence; and his arguments are deserving of great consideration. They may, perhaps, effect a change in the opinions of our students in history. It should be added, that Trumbull, in his "History of Connecticut," sides with the commissioners.

No further proceedings against the Indians — whether from state policy, or from real or pretended alarm — occurred for several years. But still there were those ever ready to stir up strife. The Indians were untrue to themselves and to their own interests. Jealousies between the tribes outweighed their sense of danger from a common enemy, — or rather from the only power they had reason to fear, — and led them to make their complaints to the English. The settlers in Connecticut and New Haven (especially the latter) indulged themselves in frequent suspicions of the designs of the Indians in their neighborhood. Rumors of conspiracies were ever taking shape, shadowing out a dreaded reality. Once and again the smaller members of the confederacy pressed their distempered creations upon the attention of the commissioners; until at last those grave men, from the aggregate of idle apprehensions, worked out "confirmation strong," and fully participated in the fears of their constituents.*

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* Winthrop, writing in 1642 (vol. ii. pp. 78–80), speaks of "intelligence from Connecticut," stating "that the Indians all over the country had combined themselves to cut off all the English," and giving the proposed mode of attack. The General Court very wisely and truly guessed that the alarm of their sister Colony "might come out of the enmity which had been between Miantunnomoh and Onkus, who continually sought to discredit each other with the English;" and Winthrop adds, "We considered also of the like reports which had formerly been raised *almost every year since we came*, and how they proved to be but reports raised up by the opposite factions among the Indians." Winthrop has further remarks on the same subject.

From 1647 to 1653, the commissioners were constantly complaining of Ninigret; demanding of him wampum, which they claimed to be due; demanding, also, the surrender of divers Pequot servants, and the cessation of hostilities against the Indians of Long Island. In 1653, grave accusations were made against him. It seems that, in the winter of this year, he visited the Dutch at New York; and the commissioners charged him with going among the Indians who dwelt on the right bank of the river Hudson, and with endeavoring to engage them in a war against the English, at the instigation of the Dutch governor, who furnished them with ammunition. They also charged him with the offence of returning home in the spring in a Dutch sloop, after having exchanged presents with the governor. In support of these charges, the testimony of sundry Indians and white men was taken. It could have been no difficult matter to obtain evidence from the former, who in all probability were hostile to the sachem; or from the latter, whose fears lent wings to their imagination. The alarm was heightened by the letters which were received from Connecticut and New Haven, containing fresh complaints against the Indians, as well as against the Dutch, between whom and the English there was constant bickering, until the former were finally expelled from their American dominion. These letters stated that the Dutch governor had engaged a thousand Indians, Mohawks and others, between the Hudson and the Delaware, who were to be under pay while warring to defend the Manhadoes, or to cut off the English on "Long Island, and the plantations within the United Colonies on the main;" and that the governor was "to furnish them with arms."

Ninigret stoutly denied the charge. He stated that he went to the Manhadoes to take physic for his health, and that the governor's treatment certainly gave him no encouragement to harm the English; for, in the winter, "a great part of a day he was kept knocking at the governor's door, who would neither open it, nor suffer any one else to."

Governor Stuyvesant and his council indignantly denied the plot. They stated, among other things, that a strange Indian from the north, called "Ninigret," came to them in the winter, with a passport from Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut, which expressed the occasion of his coming to be cured and healed.

But, as in the case of Miantonomo, the commissioners of Connecticut and New Haven were urgent for war; and the commissioners of Plymouth joined in the refrain. They went so far as to decide upon the proportion of troops to be detached from each Colony, should war be declared.* Massachusetts, from her relative size and wealth, would be called upon to furnish two-thirds of the soldiers, and defray two-thirds of the expense.

In this state of things, the General Court of Massachusetts desired to hold a consultation with the commissioners in connection with the elders. A long discussion ensued between these three estates. The elders gave advice well pleasing to the Massachusetts, being of the opinion that the *casus belli* had not yet arisen. They thought, indeed, the proof of a Dutch plot to be "of much weight to induce them to the belief of the reality thereof," but not "so fully conclusive as to clear up present proceedings to war;" adding, in wise and scriptural phrase, "the beginning of strife being also as the letting-in of waters."† The General Court came very willingly to the same conclusion. It is manifest that the magistrates and deputies of the Bay were sincere in their belief, that the fears of the smaller Colonies

* Massachusetts, 333, "the commanders excluded;" Plymouth, 60; Connecticut, 65; New Haven, 42. — May, 1653.

† Trumbull, in his "History of Connecticut," vol. i. p. 214, says, "It seems that the affair was very partially referred to the ministers, whether the evidence of the plot" (imputed to the Dutch governor and the fiscal) "was so clear as to warrant a war; whereas this was but one circumstance among many which might render it just and necessary." Premising that the elders *did* have the whole case before them, and that much of it was the old story, I draw a different conclusion from Trumbull. The elders saw nothing substantial in the allegations, except the question of the plot. Most of the allegations relating to the Indians alone had been matters of asseveration, on the part of the other Colonies, year after year.

were greatly exaggerated; else the instinct of self-defence would have led them, with characteristic vigor, to declare and prosecute a war necessary for their own as well as for the general safety.

The commissioners for the other Colonies still insisted on war; but, being too feeble to venture into the conflict alone, they continued to press the subject upon the attention of Massachusetts, not without hope of success. The General Court appointed a committee to report "whether the commissioners of the United Colonies have power, by the articles of agreement, to determine the justice of an offensive or vindictive war, and to engage the Colonies therein."* The question was very gravely considered by the committee, who declared that the commissioners have no power "to conclude an offensive war to engage their Colonies, further than they are enabled by commission or instructions under the seal of their Colony;" and they further declared, in substance, that it cannot stand with the jurisdiction and right of government reserved to every Colony, that six commissioners of the other Colonies should oblige the remaining Colony to assist them in a vindictive war. A free people, tender of their power in governing their own, could never submit to it. The General Court are the supreme power, and it would be a contradiction to affirm that they can be commanded by others; and "it would be a scandal in religion, that a General Court of Christians should be obliged to act and engage, upon the faith of six delegates, against their conscience. All which must be admitted," say they, "in case we acknowledge ourselves bound to undertake an offensive war upon the bare determination of the commissioners, who cannot, nor ever did, challenge authority over us, or expect subjection from us." This report, which was accepted, was signed by Samuel Simonds, Daniel Denison, Humphrey Atherton, Richard Russell, and Edward Johnson, all good men and true.

* June 2, 1653.

In September, 1653, after having received communications from the Colonies of Connecticut and New Haven, the General Court, professing to adhere to the ground which they had taken, waive, as they say, the point in controversy, and declare that they never denied the power of the commissioners, by virtue of the words of the articles, to determine the *justice* of an offensive war; "our assertion, which they seem to oppose, being this: viz., the commissioners have not power to determine the justice of an offensive war, so as to oblige the several Colonies to act accordingly." They express their belief that the other Colonies will join with them in "the explication;" and that, in case of an offensive or vindictive war, the General Courts are at liberty to determine for themselves, respectively, according to their own light. The General Court should act according to their conscience, and not "be under a dilemma, either to act without satisfaction against their light, or be accounted covenant-breakers." The six commissioners returned for answer, that they came clothed with full power from their respective Colonies to determine all matters of peace and war, and expressed the hope that the Massachusetts commissioners possessed the like power; that, in ten years of meetings, they knew of no unjust conclusion; that the Massachusetts, in their interpretation, "seem to have *some other bottom*," and appear resolved to judge not only of the justice, but also of the convenience, of the commissioners' conclusions. Should the other Colonies do the same, it would tend to break up the confederation.

Notwithstanding this protest, the Massachusetts authorities adhered to their proposition, with a request to have it inserted in the articles of confederation; stating that the commissioners were not chosen to be their governors, which the Colonies would equally resent in their turn. They gave as their final conclusion, "that they cannot grant that the several jurisdictions are subordinate or subject to the authority of the commissioners; and therefore they are not bound *in foro civili* to their determinations, nor act according to

their judgment, in making offensive wars, leagues, or aids, because *potestas belli gerendi, aut pacis sanctiendæ, salva majestate imperii, eripi nequit.*"*

The six commissioners still complain of this "strained interpretation," and add, "Whether this violation proceed from some unwarrantable scruple of conscience, or from some other engagement of spirit, the Massachusetts neither express, nor will the commissioners determine." The Massachusetts perseveringly deny that they have tendered any new articles, and express their purpose for the future to address themselves directly to the General Courts of the other Colonies; declaring that their interpretation of the articles of confederation, if rightly understood, would be most acceptable to their confederates.† The six commissioners reply at some length, and, touching the views entertained by Massachusetts, say, "We have sufficiently expressed our apprehensions; and shall only add, that when any authority imposeth penalties in cases wherein the subject cannot, according to God, obey, guilt will be charged. Joab sinned in obeying, in the death of Uriah; and David had sinned, had he punished Joab for disobedience to such a command."‡ To the which, say the Massachusetts somewhat tartly, "We see not reason to protract time in fruitless and needless returns. We shall acquiese in our last paper, and commit the success to God."§

The two Massachusetts commissioners, finding that the delegates from the other Colonies were about returning home, and perhaps not entirely confident in the position taken by the General Court, wrote to their brethren that they were ready to attend the occasions of the Colonies according to the articles of confederation, and were resolved to keep free from having any share in a breach of the confederation, "or that which manifestly tendeth thereunto, and the sad consequences thereof that might ensue." The General Court also intimated that they had been misunder-

* Sept. 6, 1653. † Sept. 7, 1653. ‡ Sept. 8, 1653. § Sept. 9, 1653.

stood; and expressed the opinion, that by the articles, "so far as the determinations of the commissioners are just, and according to God, the several Colonies are bound, before God and men, to act accordingly."* Although it is not stated who is to determine this point, or whether, as in the nullification theory, each jurisdiction is to judge and decide for itself, the other commissioners chose to consider it so far a yielding of the point as to determine them to proceed to business, "referring all further questions to the addresses the Massachusetts shall please to make to the other General Courts."

These proceedings and differences were under discussion from May to September, 1653, when they were adjusted for the time, as I have just mentioned.

But the trouble was not yet over. The English claimed the Long-Island Indians as tributaries. Ninigret had attacked them; and, having taken some prisoners, refused to deliver them up on demand of the commissioners. He wholly denied the right of the English to make this claim, and defended his own course on the ground that the Long-Island Indians had murdered one of his men. Thereupon the commissioners declared war against Ninigret, — but not against the Dutch, — and ordered a levy of two hundred and fifty foot-soldiers.† Simon Bradstreet, the principal Massachusetts commissioner, expressed his dissent in the following very plain and laconic terms: "There being no agreement produced or proved whereby the Colonies are obliged to protect the Long-Island Indians against Ninigret or others, and so no reason to engage them in their quarrels, the grounds whereof they cannot well understand, I therefore see not sufficient light to assent to this vote." ‡

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* Sept. 10, 1653.

† Massachusetts, 166; Plymouth, 30; Connecticut, 33; New Haven, 21. — Sept. 20, 1653.

‡ The commissioners remarked that Bradstreet expressed his own particular thoughts, and do not know why he uses the *plural* number; and are satisfied with their vote.

Complaint had been made of the treatment which the Massachusetts messengers had received from Ninigret; but neither for this reason, nor for the one assigned by Bradstreet, were the authorities of Massachusetts persuaded to enter into a war. They therefore declined raising their contingent of the forces. Upon this, the other commissioners, who had proceeded upon the assumption that Massachusetts had at length granted that which had been previously denied, after expressing their "apprehension" that the Colony had broken her covenants, refer the damages to the consideration of the other Colonies, and confirm their former vote by a new declaration of war.* At this point, Bradstreet made some conciliatory remarks, and left his own government to make such answer as it should judge to be proper. He records his dissent to a vote which had been passed "to make a present war upon the Dutch at the Monhatoes;" while his colleague, Major Hathorne, was ready to vote for the war on the ground of the quarrel existing between the English and the Dutch in Europe.† Massachusetts proposed sundry queries to Plymouth upon the true construction of the articles touching an offensive war; and further proposed, that there should be a committee of each jurisdiction to agree upon such an explanation as would be consistent with their true meaning. Plymouth replied, after referring to the return of their commissioners from their "most uncomfortable meeting," expressing grief at this breach of the confederation, the articles of which were so full and plain as to admit of no real question.

And here ends the record of the year 1653. There were no further proceedings until the commissioners assembled

* Sept. 24, 1653.

† In June, 1654, Connecticut, still anxious for a war with the Dutch, instructed her commissioners to engage her meet proportion of troops, provided Massachusetts would join; and if that Colony would not join, but the other Colonies, or some of them, would, then to proceed, if they could "carry on the designe with hopefull fruite of success without the Massachusetts." — *Trumbull's Colonial Records of Connecticut*, p. 260. The news of peace re-established between England and Holland put an end to further trouble, so far as regarded the Dutch at the Manhadoes.

at Hartford in September, 1654. At this meeting, the Massachusetts delegates — Bradstreet and Denison — stated that they believe it to be the judgment of their General Court, that the commissioners, or six of them, have power to determine the justice of all wars, and have therefore recalled their interpretation of June 2, 1653; and "acknowledge themselves bound to the literal and true sense of the articles, so far as the determinations are in themselves just, and according to God." It will be observed, that, though the *retraxit* is declared by Bradstreet and Denison to be in full, covering the whole ground, the nature and extent of the confederate obligations are expressed in terms substantially the same with those of the former year; but they were accepted by the rest of the Board, on condition that the General Court of Massachusetts certify to the other Colonies "their assent thereunto, and profess to act accordingly."

Fresh complaints were made against Ninigret for assaulting the Long-Island Indians. The tribute due for the Pequots in his possession was demanded, and indemnity for the future was sought to be obtained. The commissioners summoned him to appear at Hartford: but he declined to come; alleging in his defence that he was to pay for the Pequots only for ten years, which were out three years ago. He also refused to make peace with the Long-Island Indians, "who had slayne a sachem's son, and sixty other of his men." He desired the English "would lett him alone." Thereupon it was voted to send, with all convenient speed, *twenty horsemen and forty foot-soldiers* into the country of the sachem, to demand the tribute, and, by the same demonstration, to forbid further attempts upon the Long-Island tribe. If he paid the tribute, together with the charges of the expedition, and would engage not to disturb the peace, &c., he might retain the Pequots in his service. It was also voted to levy two hundred and seventy foot-soldiers and forty horsemen * out of the several Colonies. Of this force, a

* Thus divided: Massachusetts, 40 horsemen, 153 "foot-souldiers;" Plymouth, 41 "foot-souldiers;" Connecticut, 45; New Haven, 31. For the distribution of the

detachment was ordered to be despatched with all expedition: viz., twenty-four foot-soldiers from Connecticut; sixteen from New Haven; from Massachusetts, twenty of the horse, and as many more horse or foot, not exceeding the proportion of "80 foot," as the General Court or commander-in-chief shall advise, — to rendezvous at Thomas Stanton's on the 13th of October. The remaining troops were required to be ready to march when ordered. Should more forces be required by the commander-in-chief, each Colony was required to send its proportion of the whole number of men that should be desired. The commissioners recommended either Major-General Gibbons, Major Denison, or Captain Atherton, for appointment to the chief command; but referred the choice to the General Court or Council of Massachusetts.

At a meeting of the council, on Tuesday, Oct. 3, — present, Governor Bellingham, Deputy-Governor Endicott, and Messrs. Nowell, Bridges, Gookin, Denison, and Willard, of the council, — it was ordered that a warrant be issued to the committee of the militia for each town to impress and levy its proportion of one hundred and fifty-three foot-soldiers, with arms and knapsacks complete, to be ready to march at two hours' warning on command; and so for the horse in like manner. General Gibbons was directed to issue orders to the majors of the three regiments of Suffolk, Essex, and Middlesex, to impress forthwith forty able troopers, with their horses, completely fitted for service: viz., seventeen from Suffolk, fourteen from Essex, and ten from Middlesex; the proportions for Suffolk and Middlesex to be ready at Dedham, on Monday, Oct. 9, at five o'clock, P.M.; the rest to be in readiness at an hour's warning on command. Sergeant Richard Waite was appointed

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forty-five Connecticut men among the towns, and the twenty-four who were "to goe first," see Trumbull's "Colonial Records of Connecticut," pp. 261–2. Plymouth General Court pressed fifty-one men, Oct. 3, 1654. The order (vol. iii. p. 67) assigns the precise number of men to each of the ten towns, — fifty-one men in all; not forty-one, as ordered by the commissioners.

"commissary for the expedition of the horse against Ninigret."

With regard to the choice of a commander, Trumbull,* who seems to have been in a very unhappy frame of mind throughout the whole of his detailed account of the previous dealings with Ninigret, remarks that the Massachusetts passed by Gibbons, Denison, and Atherton, "men of known spirit and enterprise, and appointed Major Willard."

The sneer contained in this remark is unworthy of the historian; while the statement of fact is untrue. According to Major Willard's letter, which will be found in the sequel, Gibbons and Denison declined, and Atherton was absent.† The council-record, after apportioning the levy between the towns, runs thus; viz., Oct. 3, 1654, "It was put to the question, whether Major Gen[l] Gibbons should be put to the vote at this instant. It was voted on the negative. It was likewise put to the question, whether Major Daniell Denison should now be put to vote. It was voted on the affirmative. It was put to the question, whether Major Daniell Denison should be commander-in-chief over all the forces now to be raised and sent forth in the expedition against Ninigret. It was voted in the affirmative." Then follow the directions to Gibbon to order a levy, as mentioned above; then the appointment of Waite as commissary; then "Voted, that Major Symon Willard is appointed Commander in Chiefe for this expedition against Ninnigreat." Whether this appointment was made on the 3d of October, when the council first met, and when the other proceedings which I have named took place, or on the 5th of October, the position of the last date upon the record leaves uncertain; but, on Denison's declining the service, — perhaps because he was one of the commissioners, — the choice fell properly upon Willard, the youngest in commission at the head of a regiment, and but recently elected

* History of Connecticut, vol. i. p. 231.

† Willard, it will be remembered, was present at this meeting of the council.

to that responsible post by the train-bands of Middlesex. Gibbons, I should suppose, declined being voted for. He may have thought that the force was not a general's command; or his health may have been inadequate to enable him to take the command, with its labors and exposure. His early subsequent death renders the latter supposition probable.*

The following general order was then issued; viz.: —

"To all our confederates, neighbors, and friends, to whom these shall come, greeting: These are to request you and every of you to permit Major Symon Willard, commander-in-chiefe of all the forces sent forth in this expedition against Ninnigret, quietly and peaceably, with all his forces, to passe and repasse through your severall jurisdictions, and to give him credit for what he shall want or stand in neede of; he giving a ticket for what he shall take up of any of y^{r} inhabitants, and charge it on the Treasurer of the Massachusetts, who shall faithfully discharge the same; which we shall take as a favor, and, on all occasions, render the like courtesy."

On the 25th of September, — eight days before the nomination of any one to the command, — the commissioners prepared the form of a commission to the commander. He was directed to proceed by himself and his council of war, according to the course of military discipline, and such instructions as he should receive from the commissioners; and, with advice of his council of war, to use and execute marshal discipline. All employed, whether by sea or land, were to be under his direction. "The chief officers of each Colony, and the captains" of the several companies, were to assist him as a council of war; himself being "president," and having a "casting vote." The council were to have the management of all affairs in the expedition, with liberty, if they saw fit, to associate with themselves any other able officers to manage the service.

* He died Dec. 9, 1654.

The commander received his instructions from the commissioners. They were drawn up, in blank, on the same day as the form of commission. He was directed to take charge of "all such forces, horse and foot, as, according to the order of the commissioners, are or shall be levied out of three of the Colonies," and rendezvous at Thomas Stanton's by Oct. 13, and thence march to Ninigret's ordinary residence in the Niantick country,* and demand of him, "if he may be spoken with, a present and full surrender of all the Pequots under him, or lately living on his land;" and to take them by force if not delivered to him, and settle them under the English protection, according to the appointment of Messrs. Winthrop, Mason, and Denison. He was to take the past tribute, and the charge of the expedition, "or some considerable part of both," and give time for the residue at his discretion. He was to prohibit Ninigret and the rest of the Narragansets from further attempts against the Indians of Long Island. On the refusal of Ninigret, in case the peace of the country could not be provided for otherwise, the commander was "to proceed as the case requires." Should Ninigret demean himself fairly, submit to the charge, and promise no further to disturb the peace of the country, then, say the commissioners, "we judge it not expedient at this season of the year to begin a war upon him barely for the non-payment of the tribute and charges," supposing that the commander may use other means to draw some part of it now, and forbear the residue for some convenient time. If the Pequots will not come under the English government, then, if Ninigret will pay the past tribute and the charges of the expedition, and promise not to disturb the peace of

* The "bill of charges disbursed" (Massachusetts Archives, 30–47) shows the route of the troops to have been from Dedham to Providence, R.I.; thence down Providence River and Narraganset Bay to the Niantick country, on the westerly side of the bay. There are charges "to Goodman Morey, of Providence, for men's diet and horses; for canoes from Seaconck to Providence, and thence to Patuxet; from Patuxet to Narraganset to Indies (Indians?). For the Dr^s^ chest from —— to Paucautuck; to Nahaugton."

the country, by war on the confederates and friends of the English, without the consent of the commissioners, according to the covenant of 1645, and pay tribute for the Indians remaining under him, in pursuance of the agreement made in 1651, he may then enjoy the Pequots. Should the commander require it, he was directed to send to the several Colonies for the residue of the forces, and "improve" them to the best of his skill; to reduce the sachem to subjection or tribute, with security by hostages for his performance. If additional troops should be needed, the commander was authorized to give notice to the other colonies of the whole number desired, that they might be forwarded to the camp; also to send to Uncas, the Sachem of the Mohegans, if he thought fit. He received a strict injunction to uphold the worship of God among the troops; to watch over their conversation, avoiding all profaneness, luxury, &c.*

The troop of horse assembled at Dedham on the ninth day of October,— Captain William Davis, of Boston, in command, with Peter Oliver for lieutenant, John Stedman for cornet, and Richard Waite for commissary; and thence, proceeding by the way of Providence and Narraganset Bay, penetrated the Niantick country; reaching the usual residence of Ninigret, as it would seem, on the 13th of October. The boats containing the Connecticut and New-Haven companies — forty men, with their ammunition — did not reach the ground until the 16th and 17th of October. This was a great disappointment to the commander, and occasioned an unexpected delay at a critical season of the year. It also gave the sachem the desired opportunity of escaping into fastnesses, from which he could not be dislodged by the force at the disposal of the commander. Of the proceedings of the combined force, I shall give the detail in the sequel, as contained in Major Willard's letter to the commissioners, and the accompanying narrative.

While in the Indian country, he addressed a letter to the

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* Hutchinson Papers, 261 *et seq.*

Council of Massachusetts, dated "Paucautuck, 19th of 8th mo., 1654," subscribed "Simon Willard, President." The signature as well as the body of the letter shows that he was writing in reality as the organ of the council of war that had been constituted by the commissioners. He states that they are not able to write any thing satisfactory thus far; that Ninigret heard of them before they came, and fled from his residence "up into the country, into a great swamp. Great and insolent expressions, they heard, were common with him, and very provoking, declaring much pride." As things were situated, their first work was "to reduce the Pequots, which they did daily." They "had intelligence that Ninigret would not speak with above two or three." They sent Captains Seely and Davis, with two interpreters, to this swamp, which was about fifteen miles from the English quarters, in order to induce the sachem to come and speak to the English.* It was denied that he was there: but afterwards he came to the edge of the swamp, "with about one hundred and twenty Indians, and spoke with our gentlemen;" and he and the captains, through the interpreters, had much debate, the particulars of which are reserved. The letter proceeds: —

"Our work, this present, is to consider what and how to pursue things. We are in straits much, not knowing well what to do. Something in respect of the little satisfaction we have of Ninigret, though not without some. Then in regard of our hands being bound up by our instructions, and hampered, that we know not almost what to do. And then the blindness of our way in the demand of the number of Pequots, or the value of the tribute, which, we were informed, we should find with Thomas Stanton; *but he hath neither.* But our desire is to look up to God, and first labor to please him, and then yourselves, though we displease ourselves. We think, for the present, we shall send for no more forces. If we had elbow-room, it may be we might have done something

* This was Oct. 18. Seely was from New-Haven Colony, and Davis from Boston.

with those we have. But we think it a hazardful thing to have a foot-company to march so far at this time. *But this is not all the obstacle.*"

Without stating what other obstacles were in the way of further proceeding, the letter concludes in the usual terms. After executing their service, the Massachusetts men returned to Boston, where they arrived on Tuesday, Oct. 24.

The government of Massachusetts, considering that the main design of the expedition had been accomplished, and Major Willard having discharged the forces "committed to him from the Colonies," gave orders to Captain Davis to "disband his troope of horse," — which had been raised by the Massachusetts Colony, — "and, in the name of the Colony, to thank them for their ready and cheerful service." The committees of the militia in the respective towns were directed to "release the soldiers under press;" and General Gibbons was ordered to discharge the military watches in the several towns, because, says the order, "we are satisfied that the peace of the country, through the blessing of God upon the late expedition, is comfortably secured."

"The Court ordered Major Willard to have allowed him sixe pounds eighteene shillings, as a recompenc for his servic on the Narragansett expedicōn; Capt Davis, five pounds tenn shillings;" and the other officers, with the soldiers, in proportion.

I do not recollect that any author states the whole number of men engaged in this expedition. None, however, went, except those who were first detailed. The commander was directed to take charge of the forces ordered from "three of the Colonies." These must have been Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven. The troop of horse from Massachusetts embraced the Suffolk and Middlesex levies, twenty-six in all, exclusive of the five officers, the servants of Willard, Davis, and Oliver, and the farrier,

chirurgeon, and saddler. The fourteen troopers from Essex were not called into service. There is no mention of any foot-soldiers from Massachusetts. None are named in the record which makes provision for the payment of the men; and Hull, in his "Diary," speaks of none. He merely says that fifty horsemen (which is a mistake) were sent from Massachusetts to meet as many footmen (it should be forty footmen) from the Southern Colonies. At the October Session, 1654, it was voted that the country "should not be liable to defray the charges of such soldiers as were under the late press, and were not employed in service." The list of troopers, with the sums paid to officers and men, is on file.* The General Court of Plymouth Colony issued warrants to the several towns to press fifty-one men, to be "in readiness at a day's warning for march, if occasion should require." The record of 1655 recites the proportion of each town "towards the charge of the expedition the last year, in

* Massachusetts Archives. It may interest some readers to know the names of the troopers. The following is the list, as furnished by Davis, of the troopers committed to him by Major Willard at Dedham. I have added residences, so far as I am sure of them: —

Major Simon Willard, Concord.
Capt. William Davis, Boston.
Lt. Peter Oliver, Boston.
Cornet John Stedman, Cambridge.
Commissary Richard Waite, Watertown.

1. Corporal John Tuthil.
2. Zachary Phillips, Boston.
3. Mr. Broughton's man.
4. Mr. Patteshall, Boston.
5. Corporal Nathl. Glover.
6. Isaac Stearns, Watertown.
7. Samuel Stone.
8. Richard Stratton, Watertown.
9. Steven Payne.
10. John Knight.
11. John Parmiter, the major's man, Sudbury.
12. Richard French.
13. John Brooks.
14. John Bent.
15. Thomas Bligh, Sudbury, trumpeter.
16. Roger Billing, Dorchester.
17. Wm. Sumner, Dorchester.
18. Ed. Quincy, Braintree.
19. Isaac Morrill, Roxbury.
20. Thos. Drake.
21. Saml. Peirce.
22. John Gore, Roxbury.
23. John Dwight.
24. Robt. Wright, Boston.
25. Saml. Collins.
26. Jno. Goble.

Thos. Baker, farrier.
Mr. Star, chirurgeon.
Thos. Wiburne, saddler.
Major Willard's man.
Capt. Davis's man.
Lieut. Oliver's man.
John Harrison, and
Henry Allen, "not allowed as yet."

"All these were upon ye service sixteene dayes a man."

sending out soldiers against Ninnigret, the Nyantick sachem," amounting in all to £44.03 ("Plymouth Colonial Records"). From this it would seem that the Plymouth contingent was in the field. But as the commissioners, at their meeting in September, 1655, — after ordering that Massachusetts should bear her own charges, — directed Plymouth to pay £24 to Connecticut, and £20 to New Haven, it may be that the Plymouth men were not despatched; and that, on this account, the Old Colony was assessed to defray a part of the expenses of the Connecticut and New-Haven contingents. The order of the commissioners recited above, that the commander should take charge of the forces levied or to be levied from "three of the Colonies," strengthens this view of the case.

Major Willard, immediately upon his return, wrote a letter to the commissioners, accompanied with a narrative of the expedition; but, as they had already adjourned their annual meeting, his communications were not officially received and noticed until their next annual meeting in September, 1655. The following is the letter, with the narrative of the expedition and the covenant of Ninigret appended: —

"Honoured Gentlemen, — Yourselves having been pleased to appoint and give a commission for a General to command over all the forces by you appointed to be raised out of the united Colonies in the expedition against Ninigret, which you referred to the Council of the Massachusetts to complete; they having, after the refusal of Major Gibbons and Major Denison, Captain Atherton being absent, pitched on myself, though unworthy accepted thereof, in hope of God's gracious assistance therein, — these are therefore to inform you that I advised myself accordingly, and, with the unanimous consent of my Council, have, with the best of our understanding of your instructions, which were not so clear as we could have wished, repaired to the place of rendezvouz, endeavoured to have had full discourse with Ninigret, who before we came had swamped himself, and refused conference with us, as appears in the narrative which I send you. Therefore, considering the season, tediousness of the

march of the file, and straitness of our instructions, contented ourselves with reducing those Pequots, as we have certified you. On those terms we endeavored your full satisfaction; and, wherein we have fallen short, we hope you will put a candid interpretation. I shall say no more at present, but commend you to the protection, direction, and blessing of the almighty; and remain, Sires, your humble servant,

"SIMON WILLARD.

"Dated this 26th* of the 8th mo. 1654, Boston."

Then follows the narrative of the commander and his council, being "the proceedings of the Counsell of Warr being assembled at Thomas Stanton's." The "narrative," in substance, is as follows: †—

"Our instructions were to march to Ninigret's ordinary place of residence in the Nyanticke country, and to demand of him if he may be spoken withal the Pequots. And the reasons why we did not attend to that particular, we knew that Ninigret had removed from that place up into the woods some fifteen miles from our quarters, into a swamp in a wood; and the boats with the soldiers and ammunition from Connecticut and New Haven, which were to have arrived the thirteenth day of October, by reason of a storm were delayed to the sixteenth and seventeenth. Further, we had one clause in our instructions to act as might stand with the honor of the English and the safety of the country; but, for us to move with our forces, we thought it would make a great rumor and stir among the Indians when they should hear we returned to our quarters and did nothing: therefore we thought it would expedite our work to attend that was presented to us, which are as followeth; viz., to send some of Ninigret's Indians who were with us — who, as we supposed, were willing to salve up things as well as they could — to advise him to come to us and offer hostages for his security, we having intelligence of his great fear to consent to this motion.

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* Hazard, vol. ii. p. 337, gives the date as the 16th; probably a typographical error. The troops were then in the Indian country.

† It is given at full length in the Hutchinson Papers, and in Hazard, vol. ii., with some verbal discrepancies between the two compilers, but none of any moment.

He returned answer by four of his men, that one of our Indians had taken away a canoe, and made prize of it; and, upon this, he was more afraid than before. He demanded what he had done to the English that they came against him round about, and will not let him alone; and he desired to transact this business by messingers, and not come face to face; that his father was a friend to the English in former times, and wondered they should now be so against the son. Our answer was, that we knew nothing of the canoe, and that, if our Indians had wronged him in this kind, they should make satisfaction: but they would not forbear this discourse; so we sent them away with the following answers: First, we wondered he should offer to hold us in discourse about such a trifle as a canoe; and, secondly, that it was not the fashion of the English to transact business by messingers, but face to face; thirdly, that, if this would have sufficed, we need not have raised forces, but might have done this business without leaving home.

"The sixteenth day, some of the Pequots attached to the English returned, and said that the day before they had been near Ninigret's company to persuade their kindred to come over to the English, who declared they would not desist from the war against the Long Islanders, nor forsake Ninigret; and made use of threatening words against the English Pequots. Seventy-three Pequots on the 16th and sixty-three* on the 17th of October came to the English, and gave in their names, and brought away their houses and goods. On the 18th, the council sent Captains Davis and Seely, with two to attend them, and two interpreters, to Ninigret, to make some demands of him, who, after some hesitation, promised within seven days to surrender to Mr. Winthrop or Captain Mason all the remaining Pequots. He said they had them already. They demanded more. His answer was, he had but three or four; the rest were abroad hunting, &c.: but, in the end, he promised to surrender them as above.

"The messengers also demanded tribute due for the Pequots. He said he never engaged for them. He was told he paid it at New Haven. He said the reason of that was, he feared they would have been taken from him; therefore he paid nine or ten fathom of his own peage to make up the sum.

"He was further required not to continue a war against the

* So says Hazard. Hutchinson says "36."

Long-Island Indians. He thought it a hard condition that one prince and two such captains should lose their lives, and their blood not to be revenged; and, as it would seem, did not consent to make any such promise.

"The charge of the expedition was also demanded of him; but he answered he was not the cause of it, but the Long-Island Indians killed him a man at Connecticut. He made a covenant to deliver up the Pequots who were in his power in seven days. The Pequots also covenanted not to join in any war with Ninigret without the consent of the commissioners, but to disown his jurisdiction, and to remove to whatever place the Commissioners of the United Colonies might require."

The following is a copy of the covenant referred to; viz.: —

"A Copy of the covenant with Ninigret.

"Whereas the Commissioners of the United Colonies demand by their messsingers that I deliver up to the English all the Captive Pequots in my country, I hereby engage myself to surrender the said Pequots within seven days to Mr. Winthrop or Capt. Mason. Witness my hand; and so he sets his mark the 18th of 8 br '54.

"Witness Thomas Stanton, Valentine Whitman, interpreters. Witness also Thomas Blighe.

"The 19th day a copy of the covenant or promise of Paucapussamon, being a Narraganset Sachem, who had divers of the Pequots under him, who had subscribed their names unto us, who promises to live peaceably, and not disturb any of the friends of the English, and desires not to be disturbed by any of them; and so set his mark.

"A copy of the Pequot covenant, whereto they subscribed the 16th & 17th of the 8th month, 1654.

"We whose names are underwritten, being captive Pequots and tributaries to the English, and having lived some time under the protection of Ninigret, do freely consent to the Commissioners of the United English Colonies to remove to such places as the said commissioners do or shall appoint us, and do hereby disown the jurisdiction of Ninigret over us; and, that we intend really so to do, we here give in our names severally, with our own marks affixed.

Further, we do hereby engage ourselves hereafter not to join in any war with Ninigret, or any other, without the full and free consent of the Commissioners of the United Colonies.

"This is a true account of our actions in each particular, by the council of war.

"SIMON WILLARD.

"This 20th of the 8th month, 1654.

"We set upon our march from Boston the 9th of the 8th month, 1654. We returned agan to Boston the 24th of the same month." *

To the foregoing letter, and return of proceedings, the commissioners returned the following answer at their annual meeting, September, 1655; viz.: —

"LOVING FRIEND MAJOR WILLARD, — We have received and considered both the letter you writ and the trust committed to you, and your account thereof the last year, in which (to speak candidly, as you desire) we find mistakes and errors. We hear you had not the unanimous consent of your Council; and certainly your instructions — which stand upon record in each of the United Colonies — are clear enough to have guided you to a further progress than you made in the service. Nor do we find any considerable difficulty in the way. Ninigrett, through the fear that then possessed him, might, in all probability, have been enforced to receive any impression the chief commander of such forces would have put upon him. But the not improving of a season — especially in such a service — is oft attended with mischievous consequences. Ninigrett, who, while our small army was there, had his mouth as in the dust, soon after grew high and insolent in his speech and carriages; refuseth to deliver the rest of his Pequots; threatens them that have left him; hath again invaded the Long-Island Indians, — our friends, tributaries, and in covenant with us.

"Some blood is already shed; how much more may be shortly shed is not yet known; and how far our charge and danger may be increased by his pride and treachery in engaging foreign Indians against us, and what further inconveniences may arise from your

* Hutchinson Papers. Hazard's State Papers, vol. ii.

non-attendance to your commission, is yet uncertain, and as doubtful how they may be prevented. But what satisfaction may be from yourself, and those of your Council that joined with you, expected, we leave to the consideration of the Colonies, and rest your loving friends.

"Signed by the Commissioners.

"New Haven, Sept. 19, 1655."

I have given a full account of this expedition in order that the reader may possess the means of forming his own judgment concerning it. But I should do injustice to the subject of this sketch, were I to abstain from comment. The character of the commander is somewhat involved in the issue of the inquiry; not his character for bravery, — a common possession, — for that was never questioned, but his character for energy, which he had been building up in the enterprise of wilderness-life, among hardy settlers, for a score of years.

In remarking upon the history of this expedition, there are several things deserving of grave consideration, and requiring the venture of some detail beyond the space already occupied.

The apprehensions of Connecticut and New Haven, which had been gathering force through a careful nurture of several years, acquired their greatest aggravation in 1654. These two Colonies and Plymouth were very feeble, and could effect nothing by themselves; while the two former, having the Dutch on the one side, and the Narragansets and Mohegans on the other, were in a position to enjoy the questionable luxury of enlarging probable dangers, and creating still greater out of their undefined suspicions. We have seen from Winthrop, — and we could have no higher authority, — that fearful questionings and surmises had been generated by these humbler Colonies through a series of years; keeping them in a general state of unrest, unfortunate for themselves, and troublesome to their neighbor.

In case of any real emergency, the strong arm of Massachusetts was their only protection: without her, they could not adventure.* Hence their constant effort to enlist her prejudices and excite her alarm, as if some general calamity were impending. On the other hand, Massachusetts, assured of her strength, presuming, it may be, somewhat upon her position, and removed from the theatre of her associates' fears, did not feel the full force of their strong statements, and their exaggerated anticipations of evil. This must have been so, else she would have armed for her own safety, and would have taken the offensive, as she did in 1675, when Philip began the war within the borders of Plymouth Colony. She then rushed forthwith to the rescue, and bore her full share of effort and suffering in that deadly conflict.

It is not to be denied, however, that, had she placed her reluctance to engage in a war upon the ground that the *casus belli* had not arisen, she would have manifested greater self-respect, and would have maintained a better attitude before her confederates, than by refusing her obligations in giving an untenable construction to the articles, from which she subsequently felt obliged to recede. The declaration, that the commissioners had no power "to conclude an offensive war, further than they are enabled, by commission or instructions, under the seal of the Colony;" † or that other declaration, that they had no power "to determine the justice of an offensive war, so as to oblige the several Colonies to act accordingly;" or their denying "that the several jurisdictions are subordinate, or subject to the authority of the commissioners;" or their asserting that the determinations of the commissioners are binding only so far as they "are just and according to God, when the seve-

* In 1654, and for a number of other years during the confederation, Massachusetts was required to furnish two-thirds of the troops called into service.

† Daniel Denison, as we have seen, was upon the committee that reported this resolution. The next year we find him one of the commissioners, and retreating from this proposition.

ral Colonies are bound before God and man to act accordingly,"— all these were very indirect ways of saying that "we neither wish nor intend to engage in a war." They were instances of practical nullification, violating a compact that reserved no right to any individual member of the confederacy of judging of the infraction of its provisions.

The fourth article of confederation states the proportions in which the "charge of all just wars, whether offensive or defensive," shall be borne.

The sixth article provides that the commissioners "shall bring full power from their several General Courts to hear, examine, weigh, and determine all affairs of war and peace. . . . But if the commissioners, when they meet, shall not agree, yet" (saith the article) "it is concluded that any six of the eight shall have power to settle and determine the business in question." This last provision would seem to be intended to meet a case like the present, in which the commissioners of one Colony were withstanding the other six.

The apparent yielding of the point in 1654, when they "acknowledge themselves bound . . . to the literal and true sense of the articles, so far as the determinations are in themselves just and according to God," was not graceful; nor could it be construed to mean more than their last resolution of the preceding year. Without doubt, the wars were to be entered into justly, or not at all; but who was to be the arbiter to decide the point? Manifestly, none other than the commissioners themselves.

The error of Massachusetts consisted in agreeing to articles of confederation by which grave matters of peace and war were to be authoritatively decided without appeal, and in which she had reserved no greater weight to herself than the humblest Colony. Before setting her seal to the compact, she should have seen to it, that the Colony which was to furnish two-thirds of the personal and material of war should possess more than one-fourth part of the power.

The whole secret is easily explained. Massachusetts had been urged, year after year, to take the offensive in demonstrations against the Indians. She had resisted on sufficient and honorable grounds until 1653; and even then considered a war not merely as of doubtful expediency, but as wholly uncalled for. She then succeeded in warding it off for another year by starting groundless constructions of the articles of confederation; and, when these could no longer serve, exerted her influence to satisfy the wishes of the other Colonies in any way short of engaging in open hostilities. It seems to have occurred to her, that this might be effected by an exhibition of force, without materially hazarding the general peace. She was not willing that the commander of the troops should, of his own mere will, plunge the United Colonies into a war. Hence, as we have already seen, the commissioners created a "council of war," consisting of the chief officers of each Colony and the captains of the several companies, and constituted the commander-in-chief "president," with a "casting voice;"* giving him no independent authority; indeed, taking from him all authority and all responsibleness, except on an equal division of opinion in the council, when his "casting voice" would have the same weight as the vote of any other member, and no more.† Then they were first "to demand of Ninigret if he may be spoken with" about the surrender of the Pequots, — thus giving the cunning sachem an opportunity to secure his retreat; and were not allowed to proceed, and take

* Though these were the instructions of the commissioners, the caution manifested in them shows clearly the influence of Massachusetts in their preparation. Left to themselves, the other Colonies would not have proceeded in a manner so guarded. Their previous course afforded no presumption in favor of their moderation.

† This was not unusual. In 1645, when Major Gibbons was placed in command of the forces which were set on foot in the intended expedition against the Narragansets, he was surrounded by a council of war, and had the casting vote in case of an equal division of opinion. It cannot be known what would have been the result of placing him in leading-strings, because the seasonable submission of the tribe prevented an open war. In neither case did it imply distrust, though it was of bad policy in dividing responsibility.

them by force, unless he refused to consent to their surrender.* After directing the president and council to demand the tribute, with the charge of the expedition, or some considerable part of both, also to give time to the sachem for payment of the remainder, and to prohibit his incursions upon Long Island, if he submit himself fairly, "we judge it not expedient" — say the commissioners — "at this season of the year to begin the war upon him barely for the non-payment of the tribute and charges; supposing, also, that you may use other means to draw some part of it from him at present, and the residue may be forborne for convenient time." If the design could not be carried out without a greater force, they were to send to the other Colonies for the rest of the forces. We have seen, however, that the whole force which the commissioners first ordered to be raised was never in the field.†

One great object of the expedition was gained in detaching the Pequots from Ninigret, and thus diminishing the number and strength of his warriors. No tribute was obtained, nor any part of the charge of the expedition; neither was any promise extorted from Ninigret that he would not war upon Long Island. The force ordered into the Niantick country might have been sufficient to answer the end proposed, had the sachem been surprised at his "ordinary residence" near the coast; but as he had escaped through the forest into fastnesses fifteen miles within the country, and had there intrenched himself, it was wholly inadequate to drive him out of cover. Whether it would have been wise at that season of the year, and in the heart

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* Ninigret, as we have seen, got wind of the expedition, and, before the arrival of the troops, escaped with his people into coverts neither to be penetrated nor surrounded by the small force of the English, and where the Indians could fight at the greatest advantage. Thus the order of the commissioners could not be followed in the manner they intended. The instructions which they gave show that they expected the troops would find Ninigret at his "ordinary residence in the Nyanticke country." Had he been found there, he would have been completely in the power of the English, to be dealt with as they saw fit.

† See *ante*, pp. 209–11, note.

of the Narraganset territory, to await the arrival of the "rest of the forces," admits of question which I have not the means of determining. Here the commissioners and the military power were at issue. The commander, who was only *primus inter pares*, proceeded with the unanimous consent* of his council; and without the consent, or rather the direction, of the whole or of the major part, he was powerless. They concurred in the opinion, that, considering the season of the year, the tediousness of the march of the file, and the straitness of their instructions, they had accomplished all that could be reasonably expected with the force they had. By this decision the commander was bound. We find the same views expressed in Major Willard's letter to the Massachusetts Council, before quoted. In the opinion of the council of war, it would not be best to *send for more forces*, and hazard the marching of a foot-company so far at that time. The pregnant intimation in this letter, that this "is not all the obstacle," I do not understand. It may, perhaps, refer to the reluctance of Massachusetts to engage in a contest.

Though war had been declared, it is apparent that the commissioners themselves rather shrank from it, and dreaded its consequences, on account of the late season of the year. True, it was only the middle of October, and there was time for a short campaign: but, hostilities once fully begun, the length of the campaign could not be foreseen; nor could the incidents of an approaching winter be contemplated with

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* The commissioners intimate that the council was not unanimous; but the positive testimony of the commander must be considered as conclusive. The narrative seems to have been written before the troops left the Indian country. It purports to give the proceedings of the council of war assembled at Thomas Stanton's. Of course, it was submitted to the council before it was sent to the commissioners; while its phrascology shows that it was adopted by the council. I am not aware of any authority, either in print or in manuscript, that supports the intimation of the commissioners. But whether the council were unanimous or not is immaterial, because the major vote determined all proceedings; and the commander was bound by it, whether it had his sanction or not.

indifference.* The whole frontier was exposed; a military force must be kept under arms, ready for an exigency; while the Narragansets — a powerful tribe — might seize the opportunity by joining with their kindred the Nianticks to strike a heavy blow in revenge of the death of their beloved chief Miantonomo. War, therefore, though declared, was *not* to be entered on "barely for the non-payment of the tribute and charges." The Pequots were secured; which, after all, was the most important object of the expedition, as it weakened Ninigret in the right arm of his strength. To carry out the instructions in full, nothing remained for the troops but to obtain a submission to the charge, and a promise "no further to disturb the peace of the country." In this they were not successful. For this, should they have pursued the sachem to extremity, and brought about a war which the commissioners were desirous of avoiding in the cold season that was approaching, and which would be even at the door before the needed succor could arrive? From Ninigret alone no serious danger was to be apprehended: he was in no situation to attack the English, even had he desired the opportunity, But Ninigret, in alliance with his kinsfolk, might have seriously disturbed the frontier settlements through the winter. If it be said that the Indians should have been pursued into the swamp in which they had intrenched themselves, it is sufficient to remark, that the end in view did not warrant such a hazard of the lives of the soldiers. In a fight of this kind, the English — few in number — would contend at the greatest disadvantage; while their enemy would be on the very ground of their own selection, at a post peculiarly adapted to Indian warfare. This has been shown in our own day in the wearisome and protracted Florida war, waged by several well-appointed armies against a few miserable savages, at a melancholy expense of blood and treasure. A disastrous result is almost

* The United Colonies were twenty-one years older, and twenty-one years stronger, when, in a very short winter campaign in Philip's war, they destroyed the great Narraganset tribe.

inevitable, unless the invading force is large enough to surround the swamp, and starve out the enemy.* An instance in point is related by Hubbard.† When Philip, in July, 1675, had escaped into a great swamp upon Pocassett Neck [Tiverton], "Captain Henchman," saith Hubbard, "and the Plimouth forces, kept a diligent eye upon the enemy, but were not willing to run into the mire and dirt after them in a dark swamp; being taught by late experience how dangerous it is to fight in such dismal woods, where their eyes were muffled with the leaves, and their heads pinioned with the thick boughs of the trees, as their feet were continually shackled with the roots spreading every way in those boggy woods. It is ill fighting with a wild beast in his own den."

Increase Mather's account of the expedition is very brief. After mentioning the order for a levy of troops, he proceeds to narrate that "forces were forthwith levied, and a small army‡ sent forth under the Christian and courageous Major Willard as commander-in-chief. Upon the approach of the English army, Ninigret fled from the place of his usual residence, and got into a swamp, where it was not easy to pursue him. Most of the Pequots under his jurisdiction then deserted him, and came to the English. Messengers were sent to demand a treaty with him; but he was afraid to appear. In fine, two gentlemen (viz., Capt. Davis and Capt. Siely) went to him, requiring the delivery of the rest of the Pequots; to whom he replied, they were gone on hunting, but engaged that within seven days they should be delivered to Mr. Winthrop. He was, moreover, charged to forbear all acts of hostility against the Long Islanders, or any other Indians that were in amity with the English; and plainly told, that, if he did not hearken to the advice and charge laid upon him, he must expect, that, ere long, his head would be set

* This would have required at least the whole levy ordered by the commissioners.

† Indian Wars, p. 27, edition 1677.

‡ A sounding name for a body of men so limited in numbers.

upon an English pole. So did the messengers return, and the army also. . . . After the English were withdrawn, Ninigret did, according to his usual manner, observe *fidem punicam* in keeping the promises which at that time he had made, and set his hand to."*

The result of the expedition showed that no great action was required; that it was folly to rush blindly into a war; and that Ninigret, in fact, was measurably curbed.

Trumbull, imbibing the prejudices of his native State as an inheritance, in treating of the whole subject from 1653, is very severe on the conduct of Massachusetts and the commander of the forces, but has no complaint to make against the council of war. In regard to the expedition of 1654, he remarks, that the commissioners "were unanimous in the war against Ninigret; and yet the Massachusetts, by private intrigue, defeated their designs:" and he speaks of their supplanting their brethren by secret treachery, and of the perfidious conduct of the commander. In his table of contents, at the head of the chapter relating to this expedition, he says, "The art of Massachusetts, and the deceit of Major Willard, defeat the designed expedition." He further states in his text, that Ninigret left his country, corn, and wigwams, without defence; and adds, in way of complaint, that "they might have been laid waste without loss or danger." This may have been very humane, in the opinion of the Christian historian; but it was neither within the letter nor the spirit of the commissioners' instructions, nor such a course as a considerate commander would be likely to adopt without the most stringent reason. He had the opportunity, when he arrived at the sachem's "ordinary residence," to spread all the devastation that the historian seems to have desired. Happily no State necessity evoked the grim spirit of desolation, and no conflict arose between the stern sense of duty and the pleasant teachings of humanity.

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* Relation of the Troubles which have happened in New England by reason of the Indians there, from the year 1614 to the year 1675. Boston, 1677.

Of *private intrigue* and *secret treachery* Trumbull furnishes no evidence; and, without strong evidence, he has no warrant to make the charge, and sink the character of an impartial historian into that of a one-sided partisan. The transactions in the year 1654 do not sustain, but rather contradict, his views, whatever may be rightfully said of the construction which Massachusetts placed upon the articles the preceding year. The charge of perfidious conduct on the part of the commander is equally without warrant, — is equally absurd. He and the council of war acted as one; and the accusation, if sustained, would bear with equal weight upon the officers of the other Colonies. If the commander was perfidious, the gentlemen composing the council of war were perfidious. The officers from Connecticut and New Haven, in sympathy with their respective governments, and earnest, as we may suppose, to press matters to extremities, would have immediately taken the alarm; and the whole territory, from Piscataqua to Long-Island Sound, would have rung with the charge. Perfidy would have been exposed, the commander would have been overruled, the rest of the troops would have been sent for at the earliest moment, and every effort have been used to carry out the instructions of the commissioners to the very letter. Not a word of remonstrance was heard from any member of the council of war; nor was any representation, official or otherwise, so far as I know, made by any one or more of their number to the Commissioners of the United Colonies. All was silence, — "expressive" silence; and it is not to be questioned, with all the lights that history gives us, that entire unanimity marked all the results of this council.

It was well understood at the time, and history now shows the fact, that Massachusetts held the opinion, in perfect sincerity, that war was neither expedient nor necessary, and therefore was not to be justified. Such was her deliberate judgment. Although her two commissioners joined with those of the other Colonies in the declaration of war, it was not her purpose to go one step beyond the strict letter of the

obligations which she had assumed. It would seem that she supposed these would be satisfied by making a military demonstration against Ninigret, and that all honorable means should be taken to avoid a state of open hostilities at an advanced season of the year. The six commissioners must have known this; the false issues tendered by Massachusetts in the construction of the articles in 1653 proved it; while the general sentiment of the people must have been well understood. Of course, after having waived her interpretation of the articles, she was obliged to join in the expedition. Equally, of course, the General Court of Massachusetts, representing the views of the people, and the commander, — as a member of the highest branch of the legislature, conversant with the whole of the discussion in 1654, and of the more protracted discussions in 1653, when he was a member of the other branch, — knew what those views were, and sympathized with them. We may also reasonably affirm, that the same views were entertained by Davis, Oliver, Stedman, and others, — officers from Massachusetts.

This Colony had, she could have had, no private ends to answer. Actual danger to the other Colonies touched her own safety and well-being; and whatever promoted their security was of benefit to her. They might, perhaps, be excusable for making the most of their apprehensions, because in any real emergency, as I have already remarked, they could fall back upon the strong support of the leading Colony; and, if they were not over-scrupulous in their exactions when the articles of confederation gave them the power to bind Massachusetts, they might be pardoned for the same reason. It was under these circumstances, on the one side and the other, that the expedition set forth, with the general understanding, derived from well-known public sentiment, and not influenced by private intrigue, secret treachery, or perfidy, that there should be an exercise of caution, deliberation, and sound discretion. All honest endeavor was to be used, in view of the instructions of the

commissioners, to avoid the calamity of a general war. Massachusetts publicly stated to General Gibbons, that she was "satisfied that the peace of the country, through the blessing of God upon the late expedition, is comfortably secured."

In concluding this extended narrative of the difficulties with the Sachem of the Nianticks, which issued in the expedition of 1654, it may be remarked, that the commander sustained no diminution of popularity, reputation, and respect, in the Colony of Massachusetts; but, retaining the entire public confidence, he continued in the enjoyment of his high civil office, and chief command of the Middlesex troops, without intermission, until his death.*

It is true that complaints were afterwards made of the "proud and insolent carriage" of Ninigret, chiefly because he would pursue his foes, the Long-Island Indians. Massachusetts never had considered this to be a sufficient ground for war; while, on the other hand, Connecticut and New Haven were entirely competent to prevent, and did prevent, the incursions of Ninigret, simply by employing a vessel to cruise between Neanticut and the island to watch his motions, and to intercept him should he appear with his canoes in the Sound. They made no suggestion of the necessity of raising a military force on this ground, as they doubtless would have done had there been a real occasion. At a subsequent period, when the Narragansets, Mohegans, and Montaucketts were at feud amongst themselves, the Commissioners of Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, were again urgent for war, unless hostile proceedings were

* "It is to be observed that Major Willard was a Massachusetts man; and, although that Colony had so far complied with the rest as to join in sending out the forces, yet they were still desirous of avoiding an open war. This was the second time of their preventing a general war, contrary to the minds of the six commissioners of the other Colonies." — *Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts*, vol. i. p. 172. Hubbard takes a sensible view of the whole subject in his chapter entitled "A Quarrel between the Inhabitants of New Haven and the Dutch at Manhatoes." — *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, vol. xvi. pp. 545–50.

suppressed. But the Massachusetts commissioners — Bradstreet and Denison — wisely dissented; considering that it would be, to use their own words, "a dangerous and unnecessary war upon Indian quarrels, the grounds whereof we can hardly ever satisfactorily understand."*

These two instances can scarcely be called exceptions to the truth of the general remark, that peace was preserved with the Narragansets from the year 1654 until Philip's war in 1675. And it is worthy of remark, that this Sachem Ninigret,—this arch-fiend,—who disturbed, in imagination, the repose of the three other Colonies for a long series of years, "did not engage with the other Narraganset chiefs" in that dreadful war.

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* It would have been wiser by far for the Massachusetts commissioners, and vastly more humane, had they asserted this sound doctrine in 1643, in the hostilities between the Narragansets and the Mohegans; and had they taken no part, in conjunction with the other commissioners, with their pet sachem — the crafty Uncas — against Miantonomo.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SIMON WILLARD.

(Continued.)

As we have already seen, Major Willard continued to be one of the assistants from 1654 until his death. This embraced a very critical period in the history of the Colony, — the earnest and exciting controversy with the commissioners of Charles II.

Through the whole of the English Commonwealth, Massachusetts enjoyed great peace.* So far as her external relations were concerned, this arose, mainly, from the common religious sympathy existing between the Protector and the colonists; and, in some degree, from the influence of Leverett, the Colonial agent at London, who, at one time during the war, commanded a troop of horse under Cromwell. Besides being united in the same great cause, Cromwell and Leverett were united by warm personal regard. But, after the restoration, a change soon began to be shadowed out. Charles was now firmly seated upon his ancestral throne. His subjects, weary of the civil war; weary, also, of the restraints that had been laid upon them by the severity of manners which prevailed during the Commonwealth, and eager for the enjoyment of the amusements so long proscribed, with appetite sharpened to the utmost

* This can hardly be said to have been disturbed by the somewhat urgent efforts of Cromwell — which I have before mentioned — to induce the Massachusetts to colonize the newly conquered Island of Jamaica. The fears of our ancestors upon this subject — very strongly entertained for a time — were soon allayed.

longing, — were very willing to settle down in a quiet way under the old dispensation. Worn out by political controversy, and disturbed beyond endurance by the constant fluctuations of parties, their spirit of loyalty came rushing back in full tide; and no one was disposed to question the king's prerogative, or to institute curious inquiries into the extent or limitations of his power. His subjects easily fell into licentious opinions and practices, to which the profligate king and his court unblushingly led the way. His notions of prerogative were scarcely less in extreme than those of his father; and, meeting with no opposition to his sway at home, he soon extended his regards to the New-England Colonies, — especially to Massachusetts, whose strong indication in favor of Parliament, during the civil war, was well understood; and whose bold policy, and stringent exercise of authority, had stirred up the disaffected on every side. Her course in neglecting to vote an address to the king until six months after receiving the news of his restoration, and in neglecting to proclaim the monarch for more than a year after his advent, had caused her loyalty — of which she never possessed a very abundant share — to be seriously questioned. And then there were absurd rumors in England, that the New-England Colonies entertained the design of throwing off their allegiance. After some delay, Charles determined to send over commissioners; and thereupon appointed Colonel Richard Nichols, Sir Robert Carr, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, Esqrs., as the representatives of royalty. Nichols was a worthy and considerate man, and sufficiently well qualified for the business; Carr and Cartwright — violent, bad-tempered, and disagreeable — were wholly unfit to be his associates; while Maverick, an old resident in Massachusetts, always in the opposition, and of a perverse disposition, was particularly unacceptable to the colonists. From such materials no good work could be expected. They arrived in the year 1664, bringing with them a letter from the king, in which he says that "New England hath given a good example of industry

and sobriety to all the rest, whereby God hath blessed it above all the rest." Thus much for conciliation and compliment, which, if truly intended, were certainly not fulfilled by the delegates of royalty.

The commissioners were clothed with large powers, some of which were wholly inconsistent with the charter, while others were especially offensive to the people of Massachusetts, who had enjoyed so much actual liberty under its provisions.* After looking to the other Colonies, they came to Massachusetts, regarded as the chief offender, evidently determined to exercise their authority to the whole extent of their commission. But they met with a spirit as decided as their own, — a spirit that would not submit to any infringement of the patent, and hardly willing to stop even at that point. Thence there arose a long and earnest controversy, which ended in the commissioners being baffled at almost all points; and they left the country in a very angry frame of mind, with abundant threats of royal indignation. They gained but little, except in obtaining an assent to the oath of allegiance. The General Court had previously expressed their resolution "to bear true faith and allegiance to his majesty, *and to adhere to their patent, the duties and privileges thereof.*" But this was not sufficient, inasmuch as it implied that they would be absolved from their allegiance if the king should violate their charter. Finally the oath was taken in the English form, but still with a reservation as to their charter, to which they adhered with great tenacity. The record stands thus; viz., "26, 3, 1665. The governour, Mr. Bellingham; Mr. Willoughby, deputy-governour; Mr. Bradstreet, Mr. Simons, Captain Gookin, Major Willard, Mr. Russell, Major Hawthorne, Major Leverett, Major Lusher, Thomas Danforth, took the oath of allegiance as it is in Dalton's 'Justice of the Peace;' *they declaring that*

* In the letter of the General Court to the commissioners, 22d May, 1665, they profess themselves ready to give the king and his commissioners all due satisfaction, "sauing only our duty to God & the priviledges of our charter, so dearely purchased, so long enjoyed, & so graciously confirmed by his majestje."

the same is to be understood not infringing the liberties of the patent."* This included all the assistants, except Denison and Pincheon.†

It was at this session of the General Court that Governor Bellingham and Major Willard, together with Messrs. Collins, Jackson, and Fisher, were appointed a committee to peruse the commissioners' exceptions to the laws of the Colony, as stated on pp. 184–5.

The commissioners, having perused the "Booke of the Generall Lawes and Libertjes," proposed, in the name of the king, no less than *twenty-six* alterations and additions; and, among others, that the king be declared, in the title of the book, the fountain whence the Colony derives its laws and liberties by charter; that all legal process be in his name; that his arms be set up in all courts of justice, and the colors of England be borne by vessels and military companies; that "Commonwealth" be expunged wherever it occurs, and "Colony" be substituted; so also that the term "council of state" be expunged; that "church members," in the admission of freemen, be construed to embrace members of the church of England, and no law be made in derogation of that church; that the 5th of November, the day of the "miraculous preservation of our king and country from the gunpowder treason," the 29th of May, the

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* *Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections*, vol. ii. p. 88. The oath begins thus; viz., "Considering *how* I stand obliged to the king's majesty, his heirs and successors, *by our charter, and the government established thereby*, do swear *accordingly*, . . . that I will bear true faith and allegiance to our sovereign lord the king, his heirs and successors." The oath of supremacy, in Dalton, as required by St. 1 Eliz. ch. 1, was also an oath of allegiance. But there was another form of oath in force at the time mentioned in the text, established in the reign of James I., and is, I suppose, the one referred to in the text. The individual swears that "our sovereign lord . . . is lawful and rightful king of this realm, and of all other his majesty's dominions and countries." He renounces the pope; . . . denies his power to depose the king; . . . and declares his abhorrence of the "damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated may be murdered by their subjects," &c. — *See Dalton's Justice of the Peace*, ch. 4.

† The General Court, in their answer to the commissioners, state that the governor, deputy-governor, magistrates, deputies, and secretary, took the oath of allegiance on the 26th of May.

date of King Charles II.'s birth, and the anniversary of his restoration, be kept as days of thanksgiving; and the 30th of January as a day of "fasting and praying," to avert the judgments of God "from our nations for that most barbarous and execrable murder" of Charles I.; that the penalty for keeping Christmas be repealed; that the expression "lawfull authority to make warr" be confined to defensive war; that the law against Quakers be modified; that the law establishing the "mint" be repealed, "for coyning is a royal prerogative;" and also that the law "title ships" be repealed, as against the "Act of Navigation." Lastly, they deny any power in the charter "to incorporate wth other colonjes, or to exercise any power by that association: both belong to the king's prerogatiue." This was a blow aimed at the celebrated confederation of the New-England Colonies in 1643, to which reference has so often been made.

The king's name had already been resumed in the administration of justice, and the law confining officers to church members had already been repealed, as the General Court state in their answer; and they refer to the law "title ecclesiastical," in its several provisions, enabling all who are orthodox in judgment, and not scandalous in their lives, to gather into church estate; while they speak feelingly of the "hazardous and awful undertaking of coming to these shores" to enjoy greater liberty in the worship of God than was at that time allowed in their "dear native country."

With regard to the confederation, they defend it with great earnestness, show its necessity in the day of their weakness, and enlarge upon the great benefits that had flowed from it. So far from dissolving the organization, they kept it in life until after the termination of Philip's war.

With regard to the "Navigation Act," they assert that they have been misrepresented to the king; and add, that any law seeming to conflict with it has been repealed.

They omit all reference to the mint; paying no heed to

the assertion, that coining belonged to the king's prerogative; and they quietly continued to coin money throughout Randolph's subsequent complaints, and past the abrogation of the charter, down to the arrival of Andros in 1686. They maintained the title of "Commonwealth" until 1682, when they struck it out, so far as "it imported jurisdiction;" and, at the same time, repealed the law against keeping Christmas. They paid no attention to the commissioners' recommendation of the anniversary thanksgiving and fast observances.

The records of the General Court do not contain the report in form of the important committee appointed (*ante*, pp. 184–5) to consider and report on the commissioners' "objections" and "proposals;" but the result seems to be embraced in the answers given by the court, which were sustained by the country.

The whole narrative of the commissioners' proceedings is faithfully given by our early writers, and forms an interesting and instructive chapter in the history of Massachusetts.* But I shall limit myself to the mention of one incident only in the narrative, and that chiefly because the subject of this memoir was then a member of the upper branch of the General Court.

Among other powers, the commissioners were authorized "to hear and determine complaints and appeals in all cases, as well military as criminal and civil;" and, while in Boston, they attempted to exercise this arbitrary power. They gave notice to the General Court, that, on a certain day, they should sit as his majesty's commissioners to hear and determine the cause of Thomas Deane and others against the governor and company, and Joshua Scottow, a merchant, for injustice done to the plaintiffs when the "Charles of Oleron"

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* Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, vol. i. Hubbard's History, in Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, vol. xvi., second edition, note by Harris. Mr. Harris has rendered a valuable service to the cause of history by his elaborate and critical notes. See also a full record of these proceedings at the May Session of the General Court, 1665.

came into port, in 1661; "and," say they, "we do expect you will, by your attorney, answer to the complaint." The General Court did answer, but not precisely in the mode requested. When the time for meeting came, they published a long declaration by sound of trumpet, declaring the proposed trial inconsistent with the maintenance of the laws and authority, and withholding their consent and approbation, because it would not be in accordance with their allegiance to his majesty "to countenance any shall in so high a manner goe crosse vnto his majestjes direct charge, or shall be their abettors or consenters therevnto. God save the king! By the court; Edward Rawson, Secret:"

The commissioners sent an indignant answer, charging the General Court, among other things, with using the authority the king had given them to oppose his sovereignty over them. "We shall not lose," say they, "more of our labors upon you, but refer it to his majesty's wisdom, who is of power enough to make himself to be obeyed in all his dominions; and do assure you, that we shall not represent your denying his commission in any other words than yourselves have expressed it in your several papers, under your secretary's hands." So the Commissioners' Court was wholly broken up. But they were aggravated still further. The General Court, taking the ground that the king had directed the commissioners to examine the proceedings in the case of the "Charles of Oleron," and to cause justice to be done, summoned Deane to appear before the court to make good his charges; and gave notice to the commissioners, that "they might understand the justice of the said complaint, and justice shall be done accordingly."* Such a course had not entered into the imagination of his majesty's representatives. They express unfeigned surprise, that, in a case wherein the governor and company are impleaded, they should assume to themselves the hearing; "it being,"

* Colony Records, May Session, 1665. — *Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections*, vol. xviii. pp. 88–9.

say they, "unheard of, and contrary to all the laws of Christendom, that the same persons should be judges and parties;" and declared it "contrary to his majesty's will and pleasure that the cause should be examined by any other persons but themselves." It was doubtless without precedent, that the accused should try their own case; but the occasion was exigent, the determination to protect the patent was unyielding, and the commissioners must be headed off at any event. The plan was entirely successful; and, from that day, these pestilent messengers gave but little trouble. The General Court sent loyal addresses to the king, with a shipload of masts for his navy, of which he stood much in need, and for which he was very thankful; and the Colony had rest for a time.

As chairman of the Board of Commissioners, Major Willard was called to Lancaster, from time to time, to advise the inhabitants, and superintend the management of the concerns of that plantation. The inhabitants still found it difficult to conduct the business of the town; and, needing assistance from without, cast about for some suitable person to help them in their emergency. At a meeting of the selectmen, 7, 12, 1658,* the following vote was passed; viz., "They think meet, and do order, that a letter of invitation be sent to Major Simon Willard to come to inhabit amongst us, with such measures concerning accommodations *as have been formerly propounded*, and the hands of the selectmen fixed, and a copy of it recorded." These accommodations, as I understand from the records, were sundry gifts of lands in the second and every subsequent division. He accepted the invitation; sold his mansion-house, homestead, and a part of the residue of his estate, in Concord,† — where he

* Feb. 7, 1659.

† To Captain Thomas Marshall, of Lynn. The deed of conveyance bears date Nov. 20, 1659. It describes the mansion-house, and three hundred and one acres of land in several parcels. The consideration paid was £210. Marshall conveyed this property to Henry Woodis, of Concord, in March, 1661, at the price of £240.

had lived since 1635 ; and, in the course of the year, removed to Lancaster. The precise time of his removal may never be determined ; but as the invitation was given in the winter of 1659, as he sold his Concord estate in the fall of 1659, and as the selectmen of Lancaster met at his house in February, 1660, it may be inferred with good reason that he removed to Lancaster at least as early as the fall of 1659. His residence was near the opening of the present " Centre Road," so called, in the middle of the town. His estate was bounded on two sides by the river Nashaway ; and his house,* situate upon a beautiful swell, commanded a lovely view of the valley of that river, girt in by the range of hills at Still River in Harvard, the Wataquodoc Range in Bolton, another range of hills on the south, and the graceful outline of George Hill on the west. The records state that this was " first a home-lot, given, by those who first had to do with the place, to Goodman Waters ; and he built a house upon it." This house — one of the first, if not the first, in the plantation — was probably the residence of Major Willard ; or, if he built, it was either upon, or very near, the site of that house. In that early day, before county-road or railroad had disturbed the estate, it was a choice possession, and, for beauty of situation, second to none other in the Colony.†

How intimately he was versed in municipal affairs in his new residence, or what part he took in promoting its well-

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* This was a fortified house, and one of the principal garrisons, in Philip's war. The site was ascertained by Henry Wilder, Esq., of Lancaster, a few years ago. The indications of a fortified house were satisfactory, according to my recollection of them. Its position was between the first and second houses on the westerly side of " Centre Road."

† At a subsequent period, it was owned by the Major's grandson, Colonel Samuel Willard. The next owner was Samuel's son, Colonel Abijah Willard. The principal part of the estate has been owned and occupied for many years by that venerable and excellent lady, Mrs. Anna Goodhue, — the last surviving daughter of the latter gentleman, and widow of the late Hon. Benjamin Goodhue, of Salem. Of gentle temper, united with great firmness and Christian graces, Mrs. Goodhue, now in her ninety-fifth year, retains much of the freshness and vivacity of youth, with the intelligence and memory belonging to mature life.

being and growth, cannot be confidently told from the few existing remnants of the town-records of this period. But we are not without witness: for the invitation which was extended to him, and the reason assigned for this invitation, abundantly prove the value placed upon his services; and doubtless his long experience in the functions of government was brought into active requisition whenever the engrossing duties of an assistant allowed him to remain at home.

I find the following record of service among the proceedings of the General Court, May Session, 1673: —

"Whereas the Honored Major Willard, Mr. Thomas Danforth, with the late Capt. Johnson, have, by order of this court, been a committee to order the prudential affairs of Lancaster for many years, — Lancaster having been settled for several years, and, as the said committee informs, many years since been trusted by them, and able to manage their own affairs, — the said town of Lancaster now desiring the court's favor, that the committee, for *their great pains and service* for so long a season, may be thankfully acknowledged and dismissed from future trouble in such respect, and themselves be trusted as other towns are to manage their own affairs, — the court judgeth it meet to grant their request herein."

From this time, the town enjoyed prosperity, and increased, with very healthy growth, until Philip gathered his forces against the New-England Colonies in 1675.

Major Willard resided in Lancaster not far from twelve years; but the precise time cannot be determined. The "Proprietors' Records" establish the fact, that the townsmen (selectmen) met at his house, Jan. 30, 1670 (1671). Unfortunately, however, after Feb. 6, 1670 (1671), there is no remaining record, either original or copy, until Feb. 4, 1717; so that his last appearance upon the "Lancaster Records" must remain unknown.

I can err but little, if any, in stating, that, in the year 1671–2, he removed to the large farm that came into his possession some years before, lying in the southern part of

Groton, and called, from the Indian name, Nonaicoicus. The records of Groton show that he was a citizen of that town in January, 1672, when he was chairman of the committee to "seat the persons in the new meeting-house;" that in October, 1672, he was made a free commoner for "feed" for cattle, and for wood and timber; also that, in December, 1673, he was chosen chairman of the Board of Selectmen.

He had accomplished the important object for which he had been invited to Lancaster, and the town had been brought to a good condition of peace and order. He had been the guide of this people in their civil concerns during the whole of his residence; and to him, more than to any other person, the healthful progress of the town is to be attributed. The civil and military offices with which he was clothed gave additional weight to the considerations of personal regard, and to the counsels of wisdom and prudence. There were no especial ties to bind him longer to the pleasant valley; at least, none after he had bestowed his homestead there upon the husband of his youngest daughter, then recently married. All the attractions were now towards Groton: there he would be nearer to his fine farm at Still River;* there he would be a member of his son's † church and parish; and there he would have the opportunity to bring his Nonaicoicus acres under cultivation. Accordingly, he erected a dwelling-house and other buildings at Nonaicoicus; and here he made his home until the destruction of the town by the Indians in Philip's war, when his house was consumed, and his family fled for refuge to the older settlements.

Of the circumstances of his domestic life while in Groton, I can state nothing further. His public duties engrossed much of his time and attention at a distance from his home

* Then in Lancaster; now in the westerly part of Harvard.

† Rev. Samuel Willard, afterwards of "the Old South Church" in Boston, and at the head of Harvard College, with the title of Vice-President.

and family; and during the last year of his life, when past the age of threescore years and ten, — a time when the repose that nature demands is most grateful and necessary, — he is found more actively engaged in military service, in addition to his civil functions, than at any former period. His home was upon the frontier, — a position of great danger to himself, and to those he most dearly loved.*

From this eventful period, embracing the gloomiest portion of Philip's war, we can trace Major Willard, step by step, until the close of his life.

In April [6], 1675, he was one of the judges who held the County Court at Cambridge. At the May Session of the General Court, he was appointed, in the words of the record, "to keep the County Courts in Dover and Yorkshire the year ensuing" (*ante*, p. 187). As he held no term of the court in Middlesex after June 15,† until April 4, 1676,‡ it may be presumed, that, "in the dark and troubled night" which was then upon New England, amidst anxious cares and sad forebodings, his military employments engrossed his time and attention.

The principal events in this war are so familiarly known, or may be so easily gathered from contemporaneous histories, that I do not propose to enlarge upon them: indeed, it would not be to my purpose to enter into details having no immediate connection with my subject.

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* We shall find, in the sequel, that his residence at Nonaicoicus was the frequent rendezvous of the troops employed in military expeditions in that part of the Colony, and the head-quarters whence orders were issued to the various places under his command.

† At Charlestown. ‡ At Cambridge.

CHAPTER IX.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SIMON WILLARD.

(Continued.)

After the reduction, and almost annihilation, of the Pequots, the colonists remained substantially at peace with the various Indian tribes that were amongst them, or on their borders, for a period of nearly forty years. The unwise policy and the pervading jealousies which prevented a union between the Pequots and Narragansets, while they were strong and the English were weak, continued in full force between the Narragansets and Mohegans after the subjection of the Pequots. It was for the interest of the English, if not to foment divisions between the tribes, at least to prevent their hearty union; and this they did by taking sides with the Mohegans against their neighbors, the Narragansets. Meanwhile, population was rapidly increasing; town after town became settled; and the resources of the New-England Colonies, especially those of Massachusetts, were rapidly developed.

Philip had the sagacity to perceive that it must soon come to the question, whether the white or the red man should rule. He had witnessed the constant growth of the English, and must have well understood that the elements which combined to increase their strength, tended, by a reflex influence, to impair the power of the native population. It was natural, then, whether moved by private griefs or by love for his race, that he should wish to become the champion of his countrymen, in making a bold and vigorous

effort for the mastery. In pursuance of his design, he attempted to unite the Narragansets, the Nipmucks, and other tribes, in a war of extermination against the English, and was very nearly successful in his endeavors. The Narragansets were expected to bring four thousand warriors into the field; and active preparations were made, with all possible secrecy, to be ready to strike a decisive blow in 1676. But the murder of Sassamon, — instigated by Philip, as was generally supposed, — and the trial and execution of those who committed the deed, precipitated that dire war, which ended in the death of the brave and far-seeing sachem, the extermination of his and other tribes, and — out of much suffering — the assured safety of the Colonies. So formidable was this conspiracy, that some of the colonists apprehended the entire destruction of the English; and undoubtedly, had the war been postponed to the time proposed, and could Philip have perfected his plans, their sufferings must have been greatly aggravated. But it is difficult to imagine any combination of circumstances which could have occasioned their entire overthrow. As it was, the principal towns remained unscathed, and the substantial wealth of the colonists was preserved. In a few years, they recovered all their vigor, and entered again upon a course of prosperous years.

The Wompanoags, Philip's tribe, were an inconsiderable people, scarcely numbering three hundred warriors, and possessing but little territory; their lands having been chiefly, if not wholly, conveyed to Plymouth by Philip's father, Massasoit.*

The scene of hostilities opened on the 24th of June, 1675, when the Indians attacked Swanzey, within the borders of Plymouth Colony, and not far from Philip's principal residence. Troops were despatched from Boston with great promptness, and marched towards Mount Hope. Joining the forces from Plymouth, they penetrated the large swamp

* Hutchinson, vol. i., says, "All that they were possessed of."

at Pocassett Neck,* where Philip lay concealed. Here they sustained considerable loss; and the sachem, with numbers of his men, succeeded in making his escape to the Nipmuck country, within the borders of Massachusetts.

The first attack within the limits of Massachusetts was made upon Mendon, on the fourteenth day of July,† by some of the Nipmuck Indians, who seem to have taken open part with Philip earlier than any other tribe. In this attack, several persons were slain; ‡ and a fearful alarm was created, that spread at once through the interior and along the border settlements of the Colony.

On the second day of August, Captains Hutchinson and Wheeler, while proceeding with their party of horse some four or five miles beyond Quabaog,§ accompanied by several of the principal men of that town, in order to treat concerning peace with the Nipmucks at Meminimissett, ‖ — according to a promise made by the Nipmucks to enter into negotiations on that day, — were suddenly attacked; and eleven of their number, including Hutchinson, were killed. The rest of the troops barely succeeded in reaching the town; the Indians following close upon their traces, and burning all the dwelling-houses, with most of the other buildings in the place, except the one in which the inhabitants and soldiers had taken refuge.¶

Meanwhile, the fearful news of an Indian war had pervaded the entire Colony; and the frontier-towns in Middlesex, peculiarly exposed to danger, and trembling lest they should next fall victims to savage ferocity, were hastily taking measures, according to their limited ability, to

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* Tiverton, R.I.

† Major Willard was absent from the meeting of the council, July 9; probably engaged in his military duties.

‡ "This was the first blood ever shed in the Massachusetts in a way of hostility." — *Increase Mather's Indian Wars*, 1675–6.

§ Brookfield.

‖ In the south-western part of New Braintree.

¶ About seventy in all, according to Hubbard.

provide for their own security. The points of danger — from Plymouth, through the interior, to the east of the Merrimack — were so numerous, and the precise point that might be selected for an attack by the Indians was so uncertain, — as, with noiseless tread, they pursued their pathway through the forests to the settlements in detached parties, — that it was impracticable, and, if practicable, would have been unwise, to station the whole military force of the country at any one place. Hence we find the English forces, in single companies, posting rapidly from town to town, wherever apprehension was excited; and the commander of a regiment, frequently at the head of a single company, performing the duties of a captain. I suppose that the soldiers, at this period, were in a good state of discipline. It is true that there had been a long interval of peace, — even through an entire generation: but the law was rigid in requiring frequent military exercise; and the suspicions which Philip had excited, by his conduct for several years, would naturally lead to increased exertions in preparations for any outbreak.

Major Willard had been in command of the Middlesex regiment for more than twenty-one years.* During this period, there had been large accessions to the population of the county; several new towns had been planted, and the older ones were progressive; insomuch that, at the begin-

* After Major Willard's death (viz., at the October Session, 1680), the General Court, "for the better regulation of the militia in the county of Middlesex, and for the ease of the people that live in that county," divided the regiment of Middlesex, "at present under the command of Major Daniel Gookin, into two regiments:" viz., "the towns and companies of Charlestown, Cambridge, Watertown, Cambridge Village, Woburn, Malden, and Reading, with the troop under the command of Captain Thomas Prentice, or any other troops that may be hereafter raised in those towns, shall be one regiment, and continue under the command of Major Gookin, Esq.; that the towns and companies of Concord, Sudbury, Marlborough, Chelmsford, Billerica, Grouton, Lancaster, and Dunstable, with the troop under the command of Captain Thomas Hinchman, or any other troop that shall hereafter be raised in those towns, be another regiment, under the command of Major Peter Bulkley, Esq." This list embraced all the towns in Middlesex, except Medford and Sherburne. There were besides, at that time, inhabitants in Pompassiticut, incorporated by the name of Stow in 1683.

ning of the war, the Major found himself at the head of a goodly number of men bred to bodily vigor, self-reliance, endurance, and bravery of spirit, through encounter with the hardships and deprivations incident to a new country. And now, when past the scriptural term of life, the quiet of his home is suddenly disturbed; terror, lamentation, and distress pervade the Colony; and the old man, obeying the call to arms, mounts his horse, and engages with alacrity and energy in the public service. We find him in the harness soon after the first attack within the borders of Massachusetts. The Nipmucks had begun their hostile demonstrations; and the smaller tribes of the Nashaways, and others on the west of the border, were objects of excited suspicion. Perhaps the subtle influence of Philip had already permeated them with its magnetic power.

While Brookfield was in the critical state that has been mentioned, — the Indians in great numbers* investing the only remaining dwelling-house occupied by the inhabitants, and contriving, in various ways, to burn it down, which was only prevented at last by "a storm of rain unexpectedly falling," † — Major Willard, and Captain Parker of Groton, came to the rescue with forty-six dragoons, and five Indians employed as guides. Captain Wheeler, suffering from his fresh wounds, had intrusted the command within doors to Simon Davis,‡ of Concord, — a man "of a lively spirit," a

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* "I judged them about, if not above, three hundred. I speak of the least; for many there present did guess them to be four or five hundred." — *Captain Thomas Wheeler's Narrative. New-Hampshire Historical Society's Collections*, vol. ii. p. 15. Wheeler himself was in the house, disabled by his wounds. Hutchinson was also there, fatally wounded.

† This is according to Hubbard. Mather takes no notice of the rain; but says, "Willard came upon the Indians, and prevented the execution." This latter account is nearest the truth. — *Fiske's Century Sermon*, p. 12. Wheeler states — and he was on the spot — that it was partly by the rain, and partly by the timely aid that was vouchafed to them.

‡ "Simon Davis" (probably named after his uncle, Major Willard), "one of the three appointed by myself as captain to supply my place, by reason of my wounds, as aforesaid, — *he being of a lively spirit*, — encouraged the souldiers within the house to fire upon the Indians, and also those that adventured out to put out the

nephew to Major Willard, — assisted by two others. By their well-directed efforts, the house was saved from destruction; though it was set on fire several times from without, and once from within.

These events are described by several contemporaneous writers. I will select the earliest account; viz., that written by our Captain Thomas Wheeler, of Concord, — for many years a friend and neighbor of Major Willard. It is gratifying to have the testimony of one who was present at the scene which he describes.* After narrating minutely the preceding events, the distressed situation of the inhabitants, and the imminent danger of being burnt to death, or the other alternative, — of being taken, tortured, and murdered by the Indians, — he proceeds thus; viz.: —

"Our danger would have been very great that night (Aug. 4), had not the only wise God (blessed for ever) been pleased to send to us, about an hour within night, the worshipful Major Willard, with Captain Parker of Grouton, and forty-six men more, with five Indians, to relieve us in the low estate into which we were brought. . . . And God, who comforteth the afflicted, as he comforted the holy Apostle Paul by the coming of Titus to him; so he greatly comforted us his distressed servants, both souldiers and toun inhabitants, by the coming of the said honoured Major and those with him." His "coming to us so soon was thus occasioned: He had a commission from the Honoured Council (of which himself was one) to look after some Indians to the westward of Lancester and Grouton (where he himself lived), and to secure them; and was upon his march towards them on the aforesaid Wednesday, in the morning, August 4th, when tydings coming to Marlborough by those that returned hither, as they were going to Connecticot, concerning what they saw at Brookfield as aforesaid, some of Marlborough knowing of the said Major's march from Lancaster that morning,

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fire (which began to rage and kindle upon the house-side), with these and the like words, that 'God is with us, and fights for us, and will deliver us out of the hands of these heathen.'" — *Wheeler, ut supra*, p. 12.

* Wheeler's narrative seems to be the principal source from which Hubbard has drawn, in his History of the Indian Wars, so far as Brookfield is concerned.

presently sent a post to acquaint him with the information they had received. The Major was gone before the post came to Lancaster; but there was one speedily sent after him, who overtook him about five or six miles from the said town. He being acquainted that it was feared that Brookfield (a small town of about fifteen or sixteen families) was either destroyed, or in great danger thereof, and conceiving it to require more speed to succour them (if they were not past help) than to proceed at present, as he before intended, and being also very desirous (if it were possible) to afford relief to them (he being then not above thirty miles from them), he immediately altered his course, and marched with his company towards us, and came to us about an hour after it was dark, as aforesaid; though he knew not then either of our being there, nor of what had befallen us at the swampe and in the house two days before.

"The merciful providence of God also appeared in preventing the danger that the honoured Major and his company might have been in when they came near us. . . . Our enemies, skilful to destroy, endeavoured to prevent any help from coming to our relief; and therefore sent down sentinels, . . . the farthest about two miles from us, who if they saw any coming from the Bay, they might give notice by an alarm. And there were about an hundred of them, who, for the most part, kept at an house some little distance from us, by which, if any help came from the said Bay, they must pass; and so they intended (as we conceive), having notice, by their sentinels, of their approach, to waylay them, and, if they could, to cut them off, before they came to the house where we kept.

"But, as we probably guess, they were so intent and buisy in preparing their instruments for our destruction by fire, that they were not at the house where they used to keep for the purpose aforesaid, and that they heard not their sentinels when they shot; and so the Major's way was clear from danger till he came to our house. And that it was their purpose so to have fallen upon him . . . is the more probable, in that (as we have since had intelligence from some of the Indians themselves) there were a party of them at another place, who let him pass by them without the least hurt or opposition, waiting for a blow to be given him at the said house, and then they themselves to fall upon them in the reare. The Major and company were no sooner come to the house, and understood (though at first they knew not they were English who were in the house, but thought that they might be Indians, and therefore

were ready to have shot at us ; till, we discerning they were English by the Major's speaking, I caused the trumpet to be sounded) that the said Captain Hutchinson, myself and company, with the town's inhabitants, were there, but the Indians also discerned that there were some come to our assistance; whereupon they spared not their shot, but poured it out on them. But through the Lord's goodness, though they stood not farr asunder one from another, they killed not one man, wounded only two of his company, and killed the Major's son's * horse. After that, we within the house perceived the Indians shooting so at them, we hastened the Major and all his company into the house as fast as we could, and their horses into a little yard before the house, where they wounded fiue other horses that night."

The enemy, after firing for some time without doing much other damage, finding that the besieged had received unexpected succor, withdrew towards morning; first burning the meeting-house, "wherein their fortifications were," and, soon after, all the other buildings in the town, except the garrisoned house and one unfinished building. During the time that the garrison was invested, some eighty of the enemy were killed or wounded, while but two of the English received any hurt. Hutchinson, Wheeler, and the others who had been previously wounded, together with most of those who had escaped without injury, remained at Brookfield until Aug. 13, when they left for home. Hutchinson died on the way, at Marlborough. All the inhabitants of the town removed soon afterwards — "safely, with what they had left" — to various other places.† The narrative then proceeds: —

* This was probably Henry, his fourth son, then twenty years of age, and a member of his father's family. Josiah, the eldest son, died the year before. Samuel, the second son, was a clergyman. Simon, the third son, lived in Ipswich. John, the fifth son, was in his nineteenth year.

† "During the time these people kept themselves in that house, two women were safely delivered of two sons apiece; who, in a month's time, brought them all themselves on foot to Boston, where they were plentifully relieved out of the church stock there."—*Present State of New England with respect to the Indian War*, 1676.

The author of this pamphlet, who calls himself "a merchant of Boston," is an

"The Honoured Major Willard stayed at Brookfield some weeks after our coming away, there being several companies of souldiers sent up thither and to Hadley, and the touns thereabouts, which are about thirty miles from Brookfield; whither also the Major went for a time, upon the service of the country, in the present warr; and from whence, there being need of his presence for the ordering of matters concerning his own regiment, and the safety of the towns belonging to it, he, through God's goodness and mercy, returned in safety and health to his house and dear relations at Groaton."

While absent at Brookfield and Hadley, it became necessary for him to give orders for the disposition of soldiers near home. Captain Mosely, writing from Lancaster to the governor (Aug. 16), says that "we shall, as soon as the constable hath prest us a dozen horses, proceed for Groton, and so to Chelmsford, according to the order Major Willard gave me yesterday at Quoahbaugh; . . . our Major having a certain intelligence of a consid'rable party of Indians that have gathered together at Chelmsford." He further states, that on the last-mentioned day (Aug. 15) he spared Captain Beers twenty-six of his men, to march with him to Springfield, by Major Willard's orders. Captain James Parker also states, as to Groton defences, in a letter of Aug. 25 to the governor, that "he has received twenty men from the worshipful Major Willard, and Captain Mosely's men, to secure their town." He wants more men. The House of Deputies, 18, 9, '75,* complain of the neglect of the soldiers; not marching when ordered; some absenting themselves; &c.

Hubbard, in his history of the war, follows pretty closely the narrative of Wheeler, as before stated, and gives abundant commendation to the Major, whom he entitles "that honoured person, that worthy patriot and experienced souldier;" and Increase Mather says, that, "in the very nick of

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exceedingly loose writer, full of large wholesale statements, and withal a great blunderer.

* Nov. 18, 1675.

opportunity, God sent that worthy Major Willard, who, with forty and eight men, set upon the Indians, and caused them to turn their backs; so that poor people, who were given up for dead, had their lives given them for a prey." *

On another occasion, as showing an answer to prayer, the same author remarks, "What a black appearance of death and ruin was before the poor people at Quaboag, when they were all cooped up in one unfortified house, and surrounded by a barborous multitude of cruel Indians, who thirsted after their blood! But God, by a strange providence, sent Major Willard, who, with a small party of soldiers, came a few hours or minutes before it was too late; by which means, the remaining inhabitants of that place had their lives given them for a prey." †

The foregoing are contemporaneous authorities. Cotton Mather, writing at a subsequent period, is amusingly characteristic in a description which will bear quoting: —

"Our memorable Major Willard," he says, "on Aug. 4, in the morning, setting forth with a party of men to visit and secure a nation of suspected Indians in the neighbourhood, received, by a strange accident, some seasonable advice of the doleful condition wherein our brethren at Quaboag, thirty miles distant from him, were ensnared; and, thereupon turning his course thither, it came to pass, that although the Indians had placed sufficient ambushments to cut off all succours that should come that way, yet there was an unaccountable besotment so fallen upon them, that this valiant commander, with forty-eight men, arrived at night into the halls of these besieged people, and bravely raised the siege by driving the beasts of prey back to their dens, after he had first sacrificed many scores of them unto the divine vengeance. Thus, undoubtedly, was this poor people delivered."

The aid rendered by Major Willard was most timely; for the inhabitants could hardly have held out for another day.

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* History of the War with the Indians in New England, 1675–6.

† Historical Discourse concerning the Prevalency of Prayer, 1677.

They must have fallen a sacrifice to savage cruelty, before the arrival of the forces sent by the council, which was not until the afternoon of Aug. 7. It was Wheeler's opinion, that the besieged would be obliged to yield, as the number of the Indians was increasing, and the ammunition would be exhausted before the arrival of the Colonial troops. On the same day that these troops from the Bay, under the command of Captains Lothrop and Beers, reached Brookfield, a small company from Hartford, under Captain Watts, and another from Springfield, with some Indians of that place, under Lieutenant Cooper, entered the town. These were the "several companies of soldiers left under Major Willard's command about the Nipnet [Nipmuck] country," spoken of by Hubbard. "These troops," says Hoyt, "continued some time at Brookfield, under the command of Major Willard; and the adjacent country was thoroughly scoured by detached parties. But the greatest part of the Indians had fled westward, and joined the Pocumtucks at Deerfield and Northfield, forming a considerable numerical force. The settlements on Connecticut River being now exposed to the inroads of the enemy, Major Willard left Brookfield, and marched the principal part of his force to Hadley, to make arrangements for the defence of the towns in that quarter. Having completed this business, he left Captains Lothrop and Beers, with their companies, at Hadley, and returned to Brookfield, and not long after, with his corps, to Boston."* Before he left Brookfield for the more remote settlements, some of the Indians proved treacherous; and the enemy, by keeping their scouts constantly abroad, had been able to elude an attack, and to reach the Valley of Connecticut River between Hadley and Northfield.

While upon this expedition, he wrote several letters to the council; but they are not on file in the archives of the Commonwealth.† They were, however, touching the business in

* Hoyt's Indian Wars, p. 102. He returned to Groton: *ante*, p. 249.

† Very many papers are missing from the file. Some, perhaps, were "bor-

which he was engaged, as appears manifestly enough by Secretary Rawson's answer of Aug. 24, written in behalf of the council, as follows; viz.: —

"Major Willard. Sr., we rec$^{d.}$ 2 or 3 letters from you, wherein we understood that our forces cannot meet the enemy. The Lord humble us under his afflictive hand. Touching the ordering and disposing the forces under your command, we cannot particularly direct what to do; only, in general, we hope you will endeavour to your utmost to distress your enemy. Also we think it incumbent upon you to employ your garrison to fortify your garrison at Quaboage what you may. And also we propose, whether it be not advisable to send a party of soldiers to ye Nipmuck towns of Wabqusitte* and Manexit (?), where there is good store of corn. Possibly some Indians may be about those places to get food; and if you can engage any person, English or Indians, by promise of reward, to scout abroad, to discover where the enemy lurkest, and to bring you tidings before a great body march to them, and if they do march upon any discovery, will it not be best to march in the night as secretly as you can, and, when you come near the enemy, to leave an ambushmen(t) [ ], and by a retreat, after a little charge, to draw the enemy into the ambushment?† And, furthermore, we advise, if you send to the towns where the corn grows, not to cut it up, but rather preserve it; for, it being near ripe, cutting up will not [*sic*] destroy it: and though at a distance, yet we conceive the scarcity among divers English is like to be such that necessity will find some to fetch it from thence. We have inclosed a letter to Major Pincheon, which we desire you to peruse and seal; whereby you may perceive our apprehensions touching

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rowed" without leave; in which case, they would be "appropriated" as private property. But the greatest, the irreparable loss of valuable papers belonging to the public archives, and possessing historical importance, was experienced when Governor Hutchinson's house was destroyed by an infuriate mob.

* Now part of Woodstock, Conn.

† A very clever suggestion, made by Mr. Secretary, sitting in his snug retreat in Boston! But he was hardly in a position to plan a campaign, or advise as to the *modus operandi* in the midst of an unbroken wilderness, where the Indians were in their familiar home. They were by far too wary to be caught in ambush; but not so the English. Frequently, during the war, the enemy eluded the English forces that marched hither and thither in hot but unsuccessful pursuit.

sending forces to secure those towns. But yet we advise, if you think fit, to ride up with a guard to Springfield, and give Major Pincheon a visit, and encourage him and the people in those parts. Touching supply of those small particulars you send for, order is given to the committee to send them. So, committing you to the Lord, desiring his presence with you and guidance of you, with our love and respects to yourself and rest of your officers, we remain,

"E. R. S.

"Past 24 August.

"Pray do the best endeavour to send the wounded men home as soon as possible."

The head-quarters of the English troops, as we have seen, were, for a time, at Hadley. It was in the absence of the commander of the western regiment that Major Willard took the ordering of the military defences at Hadley and the neighborhood; but, "the affairs of his own regiment much needing his presence," he left "the forces about Hadley under the command of the major of that regiment."*

Major Willard, it would seem, left Hadley and the country about Connecticut River, and the Nipmuck country further to the east, on or near the last of August, and bent his course homeward. No troops are mentioned, and no commander, as being at Hadley on Fast Day, Sept. 1, when the town was attacked by the Indians; and, in the confusion and dismay of the moment, Goffe† suddenly appeared, rallied the inhabitants, and successfully resisted and repulsed the enemy.

No efforts could finally prevent the Nipmucks from joining with Philip; although, for a while, it seemed doubtful whether they would be persuaded to break with the English, with whom they had so long lived on terms of good neigh-

* Major Pynchon, of Springfield.

† General Goffe, one of the judges of Charles I., who was then concealed in the house of the minister of that town. — *Stiles's Judges. Holmes's American Annals*, vol. i.

borhood. In addition to this, a demonstration having been made upon Lancaster, and several of the inhabitants having been slain, it became necessary for the Major to hasten his return.*

On his return from the western towns, Major Willard immediately resumed his duties as commander of the Middlesex regiment, and was vigorously employed in providing for the defences of the frontier-towns by establishing garrisons, issuing military orders, directing the march of the soldiers, and performing those other various duties that were required by the exposed situation of the border country. His headquarters were at his residence at Nonaicoicus.†

At this time, these towns were but feebly guarded. Their need of aid from that part of the Colony which was more free from danger was urgent. It was no time to withdraw troops from points of imminent peril, and thus leave the inhabitants without protection. But the council, acting from some want of consideration of circumstances, as it would seem, gave orders that eighty men should be detached from Major Willard's command upon an expedition to Pennecook, to deal with the Indians in that quarter. This seemed to him a very unwise proceeding, as the garrisons were barely sufficient for the immediate exigency of the exposed towns, and too few for effectual assistance in case of an attack by any considerable number of the enemy; while for ranging-parties, in addition to the garrisons, there seems to have been but slight provision. His communication to the council, however, brought this body into a concurrence with his

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* Gookin states that this attack was made by some of Philip's party, twenty in number, led by John Monoco, or "John with one eye," who lived near Lancaster before the war began. — *American Antiquarian Society's Transactions*, vol. ii. p. 459.

† On his petition, Nov. 3, 1675, he received a grant of ten pounds from the General Court, in "consideration of his services therein expressed, and as a recompence for the same." Whether this was for extraordinary services in settling the garrisons, and in otherwise providing for the general defence, or whether it has connection with his expedition to Brookfield and Connecticut River, is not ascertained.

views, as appears by his and their letters in connection with one from Henchman. These letters are of sufficient interest to our subject to be inserted at length in the order of their dates. The first is from Major Willard and some of his officers to the governor and council; the second is from Henchman; and the third is the council's answer to the Major.

1. "*Honoured Gentlemen, the Governour and Council.*

"This afternoon, we had, according to your order, discourse with Captain Hinckhman* [Henchman] in reference to his actings in his way as to the commission he received from you. He is to take eighty men from our garrisons, — that is all we have, — or more; and we stand in need of more. But we dare not be so bold. Our corn, that little we have, its time it were gathered; but, if our scouts be taken off, here is little is to be gathered, and many will hardly be kept with us, but will run away from all our towns. You haply may think we are afraid. *We will not boast thereabout; but we dare say our lives are not dear unto us in any way that God shall call us to.* Our thoughts are that it is not adviseable to march up to Pennecook, where there are many Indians at the present, yet many abroad about all our towns, as appears daily. But our present thoughts are that it might be, for the present safety for the country, that a garrison were settled over Merrimack River, about Dunstable, that there may be intercourse between our towns and that garrison.

"We have appointed [?] Captain Park‡ and Lieutenant Hinkesman, who will relate things to give you real light, much further than its meet now to do, or than time will permit. We are not willing to trouble you any further, but rest your humble servants,

"Simon Willard.
Samuel Adams.†
James Parker.‡
James Kidder.§

"Groaton, this 25th, 7, '75."

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* This name is variously spelt in contemporaneous records. Probably it was pronounced according to the orthography of the text.

† Of Chelmsford. ‡ Of Groton. § Of Billerica.

2. Captain Henchman, in his letter to the governor, dated "Chelmsford, Sept. 27, 1675," says that, in pursuance of his instructions, he and his lieutenant "met at Major Willard's * the last day of the week, with the captains of the several towns directed to, as well for the drawing-off of the soldiers as to advise with them. For the first, they promise they shall be sent to Chelmsford at any hour's warning, and so will be ready here by that time. . . . The Major and the rest of the officers will advise to no other motion *than about this and other towns.* But I understand the intent of the Honorable Council to be that I should march to Penny-Cook, although not named in my instructions," &c.

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3. "*Letter to Major Willard, dated the 30th September*, 1675.

"Major Willard, — The council having perused and considered your letters,† with others from your parts, and also spoken with Captain Henchman and Leift. Danforth, and being informed that the body of Indians are withdrawn to the Great Pond,‡ about one hundred and twenty miles, and there inforced themselves upon an island, to which there is no access without boats, and it is impossible to convey them thither; also understanding that their corn upon the river, both at Natakooke and Pennygooge, is gathered and carried away, — these considerations have induced the council to desist from the enterprize at present; and have, accordingly, discharged the Captain and his Leiftenant; and do think meet at present to continue the garrisons in your frontier-towns, as they are settled, and may be made up with the twenty Essex men; drawing off the Norfolk § men, and sending them away speedily, because those parts have need of them. Only desire y^{t} you will

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* At Nonaicoicus.

† The secretary speaks of "letters." That of the 25th September, before recited, is the only one upon this subject which I have found.

‡ Lake Winnipiseogee.

§ Our ancestors understood where to place Norfolk, — "Nordfolc," or the North folk, according to the etymology of the word. The present county, incorporated in 1793, violates all etymology in being placed south of Suffolk, — "Sudfolc," or South folk. The Colony was divided into four counties in 1643. Norfolk County comprehended the towns of Salisbury, Hampton, Haverhill, Exeter, Dover, and Strawberry Bank [Portsmouth]. — *Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts*, vol. i. p. 112. *Colony Records*, vol. ii.

give express order to the commander of each garrison that the soldiers may not be idle, but to be daily improved to range and scout about the borders of each town to discover the enemy; and be very vigilant — as well by day as night — in their duty; for we have reason to believe the enemy, in parties, will be coming down to do mischief. [And you may consider, that, for the security of those places, the country is out, at least, £40 every week for wages and ammunition for those soldiers; which will soon arise to a greater sum than all those towns have or will pay to the public charge in several years. As for those eighteen or twenty soldiers that are at Chelmsford, sent out of the county of Essex, the council desire you to order Leift.* Henchman to improve them with some able guide, to scout abroad in those parts adjacent, to prevent any attempt of the enemy to discover them until they take other order about them.]

"Moreover, the council do propose to you, that, upon consultation with the officers and prudent men in those frontier-towns westerly, it be not expedient that in every town, according to its capacity, the people be proportioned into several divisions, not less than eight or ten families to a place; and, before winter come on, to make forts, after the Indian manner, well flankered, including some of the most capacious houses, clearing all underwood near such forts. If the people should be fired from the habitations, the men, women, and children may fly for shelter to these places. All the Indian corn belonging to the squadron may be brought, and be put in Indian pole-barns; and also all English corn threshed out as soon as may be, and brought to these places to be secured, that provisions to sustain life may be preserved. If some such thing as this be not cared for in due time, and diligently set up, if the enemy should fall in upon the p'ticulars, and burn and destroy houses and food, you may easily consider the distressed calamity that will ensue. The wise and prudent foresee the evil, &c. And we are not to expect any more favours from the enemy in these parts then [than] our brethren and countrymen meet wth all in the eastern parts, where many houses, &c., are burnt; and in the western parts

* In the letter on file, which is an office copy, lines are drawn around the passages which I have included within brackets. The word "Leift." is struck out, and the word "them" written over it; evidently a mistake.

at Deerfield and Squkeke* and Qyubage,† which are wholly ruined. And by the last post from Springfield, dated 27th instant, we are informed that Major Pencheon's barnes, out-houses, and all his corn and hay, old and new, is totally destroyed by fire; and it is thought that there was not more than one or two Indians did this mischief in the night. So that, doubtless, the best means to preserve something to support life is to be used; and if diligence and industry be not used, and also authority put forth, tis to be feared many people are so self-wise and improvident that they will have cause to repent when it is too late, unless something of this kind shall be done. We shall add no more, but leave the serious consideration of what we have suggested to your prudent and serious action. So, desiring the Lord to be your wonderful counsellor and protector, we commit you to God, and remaine,

"EDWARD RAWSON, Sectry.

"BOSTON, Sept. 30, '75.

"By ye council."

As the troops were not withdrawn from Major Willard's command, any immediate apprehension of a hostile attack seems to have been allayed. The government having ordered that the militia of Suffolk and Middlesex be "put in a posture of war, and to be ready to march at a minute's warning, to prevent danger,"‡ his friend Captain Gookin, "in the absence of the Major," was charged with this duty in Middlesex;§ and the frontier-towns in Middlesex having been secured through Willard's exertions, so that the inhabitants remained in comparative safety while engaged in

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* Northfield. † Brookfield.

‡ October, 1675. Shattuck's Concord, p. 50. "After the relief of Brookfield, the alarm of Indian incursions increasing, the towns received an order from the council to gather the inhabitants into garrisons. In obedience to this order, a meeting of the selectmen and committee of the militia was holden for the purpose, 8th October, 1675, when several garrisons were formed, and suitable arrangements were made. On the 14th, the selectmen and committee were met by Major Willard, who approved of their measures, and assisted them in instituting a number of other garrisons in addition to those formed on the 8th." — *Farmer's Billerica*, p. 10.

§ The General Court assembled on the 13th of October; but the Major was detained from court until the 19th by his military engagements. He was also absent from the adjourned session, Nov. 3–12, doubtless for the same reason.

gathering their harvest, no incursion was made by the enemy on the north or west side of the county. Through October and November, there seems to have been but little feeling of alarm in this quarter, such wise measures were taken for the common defence. Indeed, Groton felt so well assured, that she was unwilling to be at the charge of supporting the soldiers detailed for her protection; though, by raising the question, she incurred the hazard of their being withdrawn.*

In the neighborhood of Connecticut River, the Indians, before they withdrew to winter quarters among the Narragansets, committed great havoc in several towns; killing Captains Lothrop and Beers, with most of their men.

During the progress of the war, and before its close, almost all the able-bodied men in the Colony were called into the service. This service was attended with great anxiety and fatigue; so that it became necessary from time to time to discharge some of the soldiers, and to "impress" others in their place. We find memoranda here and there, which show the continued employment of the commander in this business in the months of November and December. A few of these memoranda will serve for an illustration: —

"Order to Major Willard. It is ordered by the council that Major Willard forthwith discharge from the frontier-towns of Middlesex — viz., Groton, Chelmsford, Lancaster, and Billerica — sixty soldiers,† to be sent home to their several towns in such proportion as the Major judges expedient. By the Council,

"20, 9, 1675." "Edw. Rawson, Secy.

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* At a meeting held on the 8th of November, the town appointed a committee to treat with Mr. Willard about sending to the General Court to be paid their due from the country, and that the billet of the soldiers might be upon the country's account; and, "if this would not do, to stand it out at law with them." But, in December, the bravery of the town suffered an abatement. On the 9th of that month, the inhabitants expressed their willingness that the soldiers remaining in the town should be a town-charge until they should hear the result of the Narraganset expedition. — *Butler's Groton*, p. 70. How it was in Lancaster, — a town still more exposed, — there is no record to show.

† I understand this to mean soldiers for the garrisons, — not troopers or dra-

Probably, to supply the place of these men, new warrants were issued, directed to various towns. The following are the returns, amongst others; viz.: —

[Woburn return.] "By virtue of a warrant rec^{d} from Major Willard, bearing date the 22 of the 9th mo., '75, we haue impressed thirteen soldiers," &c.

Sudbury, by virtue of a like warrant, returned nine men on Dec. 1, and expressed the hope — which doubtless was entertained by other towns — that the men might not be called for; it was a frontier-town; several of their men were already in the service; the inhabitants were sparse and scattered. "We have," say they, "likewise made our address to our Hon^{d} Major, who acquaints us that it is out of his power; but, if it would please your honours to giue order, he would consider our condition." Concord made a return of eleven; Medford, two; and there were returns from other towns. These warrants were directed by the commander of the regiment to the "Committee of the Militia," which was established in the several towns.

But, while provision was made for defence against the enemy, the Christian Indians of the Massachusetts, who generally remained true, suffered most severely and cruelly from the easily excited suspicion in the common mind. A slight depredation, the firing of a building, or the commission of other offence, by any vagrant Indian, was likely to be attributed to the Christian converts; and the heedless people were ever ready to visit them with bitterest revenge.* In this way the Wamesit tribe suffered. This

goons, — to perform duty as scouts. It was not until February that provision was made for forty scouts. In March, a force of eighty-eight men was sent to Major Willard, under the conduct of Captain Joseph Cook.

* Such was the state of feeling at this time, that the generality of persons in the ordinary walks of life thought no more of shooting an Indian, without provocation, than is now thought, in this period of boasted refinement and high civilization, of shooting an escaping slave. Gookin, in his narrative, gives a very touching picture of the sufferings of the Christian Indians during the war. His active friendly sympathy

was a small and inoffensive settlement on the Merrimack, chiefly within the bounds of the present city of Lowell.* A barn having been fired in Chelmsford, and consumed, with its contents, the Wamesits, suspected of the offence, without cause, were set upon by a party from that town, who killed an Indian lad, and wounded several women. The tribe had ever remained at peace with the English, interchanging friendly offices. They constituted one of the seven villages of the natives who had been converted to Christianity by the teachings of Eliot. The better classes of citizens throughout the Colony were shocked by the wanton cruelty of the Chelmsford men. But what could they do? The masses were blind, indiscriminate, and bitter; and though the guilty men were known, and brought to trial, they were acquitted, in conformity with the usual course ever since, whenever a wide-spread sentiment in the community is represented by the jury equally with the prisoners.†

The poor converts, filled with terror, deserted their habitations in the midst of a sharp winter, carrying little or nothing with them into the forests, whither they fled, on

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in their behalf rendered him so odious, that, at one time, he was hardly safe from personal violence while walking the streets. The grossest language was used by sundry persons, accompanied with threats of deadly assaults. In a written handbill, Danforth is thus coupled with him: "Those traitors to their king and country, Guggins and Danford, some generous spirits haue doomed their destruction. As Christians, we warn them to prepare for death." The wide-spread but temporary frenzy seems to have shielded the guilty from detection and punishment. One man, indeed, was arrested, "tried by the bench" at his own request, and found guilty. He had entered the house of a neighbor in Cambridge late at night, and, with much abusive speech, uttered murderous threats against Gookin. It afterwards appearing that he was distempered with drink at the time, he was released from imprisonment. Even the Apostle Eliot was subjected to very harsh judgment.

* Major Willard's name is signed to a return made to the General Court in April, 1664, of a survey of five hundred acres of land laid out to this tribe at the junction of Concord and Merrimack Rivers. — *Ante*, pp. 183–4.

† They "were cleared," says Gookin, "to the great grief and trouble generally of magistracy and ministry, and other wise and godly men. The jury pretended want of clear evidence; but some feared it was rather a mist of temptation and prejudice against these poor Indians that darkened their way."

their way towards the French settlements.* The council despatched a messenger to endeavor to prevail with them to return; but, in a very touching letter, they refused, expressing strongly their fears and griefs. However, after having been gone towards a month, finding themselves reduced to an extremity for want of food, the greater part of them returned to their homes. The Nashobah [Littleton] Christian Indians had taken refuge in Concord, under the care of Mr. John Hoare, with the hope of being left at peace; but even there they were hourly exposed to perilous attacks from the exasperated whites. Thus it became necessary for the council to interfere, and look after these unfortunate persons, and give them, if possible, some comfortable assurance of protection. To this end, the council appointed a committee of three gentlemen to proceed to Concord and Chelmsford upon this mission of love. They selected Messrs. Gookin, Willard, and the Apostle Eliot, — all of whom, from long and friendly intercourse, possessed the entire confidence of these Indians. These gentlemen had a hard though agreeable duty to perform. They were to encourage and settle the Wamesits; and conciliate, in their behalf, the savage temper of the Chelmsford men. They were also "to quiet and compose the minds of the English" at Concord towards the unoffending Nashobahs. "In a cold and very sharp season" (Dec. 13)†, they visited those places, and performed their duty very faithfully. "Matters," they say, "were so well settled [as they conceived], that those poor Indians were in hopes to live quietly." They succeeded also in persuading some of the Wamesits, who had remained behind at Pennecook, to return to their

* It would seem that they had pursued their retreat as far, at least, as Pennecook.

† "The winter set in more early than it used in other years." During the winter, "in the matter of scouts, though the foot were unable to do any service in the depth of the snow and sharpness of the cold, the troop was sent out upon all occasions to scout about the country." — *Hubbard's Indian Wars.* Willard was abroad in the saddle, upon this service, the greater part of the winter.

own village; and they appointed "Englishmen to be as guardians to those Indians by night and day." At Concord, they placed the Christian Indians under the inspection and government of Mr. John Hoare. "This man was very loving to them; and very diligent and careful to promote their good, and to secure the English from any fear or damage to them." *

The committee must have taken great comfort in their mission of benevolence, and have rejoiced at the apparent success with which it was crowned. It is one of the very few bright spots amid the dreary, gloomy scenes of this desolating war. Harassed and persecuted as were the Christian Indians, the marvel is that they did not turn to a man against the English, and manifest those traits of character which are ever so dear to the savage nature. If here and there they were driven to madness, it was the inevitable consequence of their wrongs. Had they been well treated by the Massachusetts, — that is, by the masses, who controlled popular sentiment for the hour, — they would have been a strong wall of defence to the colonists, as those in Connecticut were to that Colony. Slowly, very slowly, were suspicions removed and hate overcome. Late in the spring of 1676, the English began to employ the Christian Indians in active warfare; and, whether as scouts, or in larger bodies attacking the enemy, they were of essential service in bringing the war to a successful termination. But Major Willard did not live to witness this event.

Philip had now gone into winter quarters among the Narraganset Indians, who had been for some time heartily, though not openly, in his interest. But soon after the memorable and decisive battle between the English and the Narragansets,† which broke the formidable power of that tribe, he left that neighborhood, and took up his quar-

* *Gookin's History of the Christian Indians.* The subsequent sufferings of the Wamesits and Nashobahs are feelingly related by their true friend, Gookin; but do not come within the province of this sketch.

† Dec. 19, 1675.

ters, for a time, with his allies on Connecticut River; and for a part of the winter, perhaps, with the Mohawks beyond Albany. His whereabout, however, was then unknown to the English. They had reason to fear that the winter would not pass away in full security; but it was not until the latter part of January that they knew when or where the blow would be struck. Their fears took shape on the return of one of the Christian Indian spies,* who had ventured among the enemy in the western wilderness, at the instigation of Gookin, and brought back the startling intelligence that hostilities would be shortly resumed with fresh vigor; and that Lancaster, the most exposed of all the frontier settlements in that quarter, would be the first object of attack.

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* He returned on the night of Feb. 9, at ten o'clock.

CHAPTER X.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SIMON WILLARD.

(Continued.)

The notes of preparation among the English for the campaign of 1676 were now first sounded. The government seems to have taken no special pains to prepare for the defence of Lancaster, and the resources of that town were not equal to the emergency.

Major Willard, as will appear in the sequel, was busily employed at this time in making such provision for the general defence of the frontier between Groton, Lancaster, and Marlborough, as the limited means placed at his disposal would allow. Early in February [1676], he received orders from the council to raise a body of troopers and dragoons to range the country between these towns.* This was a very insufficient force for such an extent of territory, but perhaps as large as the council could then call into the field to ward off the attack, which they knew, from the information given by the Indian spies, might be expected at an early day. It should be remembered, however, that, in this mid-winter season, foot-soldiers could not be supported for any length of time in the wilderness, and that an enemy trained like the Indians could easily elude them. As for horsemen, the whole Colony could not furnish a sufficient number to draw a cordon around the frontier; and nothing less would be of service. The principal security would consist in well-appointed garrisons in the frontier-towns, such as would be likely to hold out until the arrival of succor from abroad.

* Shattuck's Concord, 51; Butler's Groton, 71.

The committee of Groton, in a petition to the council, dated Feb. 6, 1676, draughted by the Rev. Samuel Willard, the minister of the town, say, "that whereas it seemeth it meet to your worships to commend unto our honoured Major Willard, and impose upon him, the maintaining a continued scout of forty troopers and dragoons to range between Groton, Lancaster, and Marlborough, and those parts, we make bold humbly to present our conceptions upon that account." The petition then proceeds to state that the Marlborough garrison is sufficient, and renders their scout an unnecessary burden; that the "long absence and distance of the scout gives but little safety" to Lancaster and Groton; that quarters must be provided for men and horses inconveniently to be drawn from several towns which are weak, especially Chelmsford and Billerica, that want more strength at home, and whose troopers, therefore, desire a release; that the associated towns were of the opinion, that a scout of a less number of garrisoned foot-soldiers, whom they might make dragoons in an emergency, would be more for their security.* What was the result of this petition is not known. Probably, however, the attack upon Lancaster — which occurred within four days afterwards — left no time to make any change. In either event, the force intrusted to the commander was too small to be of potential service in so wide a field; and, small as it was, could not be raised, or kept together, without difficulty at that inclement season.

At the same time, Willard's friend, Captain Daniel Gookin, was directed to range between Marlborough and Medfield with another small company of troopers; but, as in the former instance, this force was insufficient for the purpose. The local garrisons, however limited, furnished a more competent defence.

With such means as were placed at his disposal by the order of Feb. 2, Major Willard was constantly employed in endeavors to protect the inland towns. He was thus pre-

* Butler's Groton, 71–2.

vented, as he had been before, from taking his seat at the Council Board. Shortly before the destruction of Lancaster, he addressed a letter to the council in explanation of his absence from their meeting. I have not been able to find this letter among the public archives; but the subject-matter appears by the answer which the council returned. I regret that his letter has not been discovered, as it might contain some remarks upon the state of affairs in his own neighborhood, especially his apprehensions with regard to Lancaster. The following is the council's letter, written the day after Lancaster's sore distress, but probably before the news thereof had been received: —

"Sir, — The Council received your letter; and are sorry for your excuse for not coming to the Council, by reason of the state of Lancaster; which we desire you to endeavour to the utmost of your power to relieve and succour. We are useing our best endeavours to prepare more forces to send to distress the enemy. You shall hear more from us speedily; and, in the interim, we desire you to be in readiness if you should have *a full command over the forces to be sent forth from this Colony.*

"Edward Rawson, *Sec.*

"11 Feb., 1675." *

I cannot state whether he was appointed to this command and declined the service, or whether Major Savage was originally placed over the forces. Perhaps, at the advanced age of seventy-one years, added to an inclement winter, he may have declined the service; but the more probable supposition is, — judging from the remarkable vigor that he still retained, — that Savage, who was several years his junior, and was of Boston, could be more easily spared than Willard, who, with his regiment, stood at the post of danger, where it would have been difficult to find one competent to assume his duties. Gookin could not be taken, because his services

* New-Hampshire Historical Society's Collections, vol. iii. p. 97. Communicated by Lemuel Shattuck, Esq.

were demanded elsewhere; and no other commander occurs to me of sufficient prominence and experience.

Major Savage, on taking the command, was joined by some Connecticut troops at Quaboag. The combined force missed their way, because they did not follow the direction of their Natick Indian guides; and thus failed in meeting with any considerable body of the enemy. Their presence, however, gave quiet to the western towns.

Further to the north, Chelmsford began to be greatly alarmed. Two of the inhabitants,* after leaving Major Willard's house at Nonaicoicus, were fired upon by the Indians, and one of them was wounded. The "Committee of the Militia" of Chelmsford, on the same day (Feb. 15), wrote to the Governor and Council in terms of great distress, and implored assistance. They represented that they were the more enfeebled, because "part of their men were abroad with Major Willard upon public service." This is another instance to show the insufficient defences — perhaps unavoidable — afforded to these Middlesex towns, and the increased duty, difficulty, and anxiety in which the commander was necessarily involved. Indeed, we are told, that after the flight of the Narragansets into the Nipmuck country in the latter part of January, 1675–6, they were pursued into the woods between Marlborough and Brookfield, towards Connecticut, by the Massachusetts troops, who "in the beginning of February, for want of provisions for themselves and horses, were constrained to turn down to Boston." The danger to the inland towns, in consequence of the Narragansets entering the Colony, was apparent to the council from the intimations given by the Indian spies: "but," says the historian, the council "were not well able to prevent it in that unseasonable time of the year, no way fit for marching of soldiers, and transporting of provisions;

* Joseph Parker and his son. The latter was badly wounded; but they both, being in the saddle, managed to make good their escape. — *New-Hampshire Historical Society's Collections*, vol. iii. pp. 97, 98.

the winter then beginning to break up in this country."* Hence the order to Major Willard to range along the frontier to defend it against the Nipmucks and Narragansetts.

A new levy was consequently ordered by the government on the 1st of March; and the following directions concerning them were given to (Captain) Joseph Cook, of Cambridge; viz.: —

"You are hereby ordered and empowered to take the command of the dragoons and troopers now impressed out of Essex and Norfolk for the service of the country. You are to conduct them up to Major Willard; taking special care that they make no waste of their ammunition, and demean themselves silently and vigilently, so as may be for their own security, and gaining an opportunity — *if Providence permit any* — for destroying the enemy, and securing the English interest. All which you are carefully to intend. And all the said soldiers you are [to] take their names in a list, who are hereby required to obey you as their commander. And, when you shall come to the Major's quarters [at Nonaicoicus], you are required to attend to his further order; and, in so doing, this shall be your warrant; making return to the Council of what you shall do herein.

"By order of the Council,

"D. G. [Daniel Gooken.]
T. D. [Thomas Danforth.] †

"Date in Cambr., 16, 1, 1675, '6.
"Essex, 48; Norff., 40."

This order was issued by the two Cambridge members of the council on an emergent occasion, and was approved by that body at their next meeting on the 16th of March. How soon after the passage of the order the troops were set forward under the command of Captain Cook, does not appear. Had they been at Groton on the 2d of March, the fact could not have escaped notice, or failed of mention in contemporaneous history, especially as their presence would

* Hubbard's Indian Wars. † Massachusetts Archives, vol. lxviii. p. 162.

have prevented the attack which the Indians then made upon that devoted town. They were sufficiently numerous to protect the inhabitants from a hostile invasion, or to repel one if attempted. The same remarks apply equally to the 13th of March, when the town was wholly laid waste. I have thus far found no evidence to show that they were at Groton earlier than the 17th of that month, when it would seem they entered the town under the command of Major Willard; nor can I state positively where they were in the mean time. Of course, at such a period, when the Indians, "compounding all the materials of fury, havock, and desolation into one black cloud, hung" over the frontiers, the Major and his men were not resting upon their arms, but doubtless were doing their utmost to protect the border settlements, not merely by their presence in one and another town, but by endeavors to meet an enemy whose approaches were always stealthy, who were often at a distance when supposed to be near, and struck the deadliest blows when their presence was least expected. At the best, these troops, in the wide range between Groton, Lancaster, and Marlborough, could protect but a few miles of territory on either side of their immediate march; and must leave many points open to the attack of a lurking foe, who, on the slightest alarm, could escape to the surrounding forests.

As to the first half of the month, I would venture to suggest that Major Willard was ranging, at least a part of the time, in command of the "dragoons and troopers," from Essex and Norfolk between Wachusett on the north-west, and towards Medfield on the south-east. This would cover the country to some extent in the rear of Lancaster, and the other towns southerly. After the retreat of the Indians from Lancaster towards Connecticut River on the south side of the Wachusett, their companions, from whom they had separated, were found tending towards Plymouth, attacking Medfield on their way. News of the disaster of Lancaster and Medfield, with other signs of renewed hostilities, and the passage of the Indians in a general southerly direction,

would seem to point out the track I have mentioned as the probable range of the Major and his men in that part of Middlesex. The worthy Major Savage with his troops had marched to Quaboag, there to be joined by the Connecticut troops, and thence proceed to the Indian towns about Wachusett. Willard, on the opposite quarter, would complete the line of defence so far as practicable from the nature of the enemy to be dealt with.

Another hypothesis would be, that Willard was ranging towards Chelmsford and Merrimack River, where the Wamesits, goaded and exasperated by what they had suffered, were making hostile demonstrations. But I do not think this very probable, because it would take him so far from the neighborhood of Groton as to prevent or retard his early return at a critical point of time.

Though Major Savage failed to encounter the Indians, he drove them into the woods in different directions, so that the frontier was measurably relieved from immediate apprehension. Perhaps it was this circumstance that gave Willard an opportunity of being in his place as a member of the Court of Assistants.* That duty executed, his post would be at the head of the "dragoons and troopers," in addition to his general care of the garrisoned towns. The following letter from Secretary Rawson, March 16, leads to the conclusion that such was the fact: —

"Major Willard and loving Sir, — Having been with the Governour [Leverett] since his examination of one Taylor, an English captive that the Indians carried to [from?] Medfield (whose examination I doubt not but will be sent to you by Captain Gookin,

* He was at Cambridge on the 4th of March, engaged in taking sundry depositions (Massachusetts Archives, vol. xxx. p. 192); and was present at the term of the Court of Assistants on the 7th of March. There were verdicts of the jury in five cases, besides other hearings. It is probable, therefore, that the court lasted several days. The record does not show the length of the term. In his absence, the law assigned the command to the senior captain. An absence either from his command or from the council was inconvenient. The letter of the council (Feb. 11) shows that no ordinary excuse would be deemed sufficient for absence from his seat at the Board. Gookin was also present at the court held on the 7th of March.

that will save me a labour), I am requested by the Governour to impart to you, that upon the information you have of the enemy's resolution to destroy or ruin Marlborough, Concord, Sudbury, Watertown, Cambridge, Charlestown, and Boston, compared with the examination sent you, that if you have issued *that business of Groton* (at least done what you can, and no likelihood of your reaching or engaging the enemy), that you, with your forces thereabout, keep so *shoary* scouting or ranging towards Marlborough as may seasonably give present relief, and further prevent what mischiefs may be. Forewarned, forearmed, is an usual proverb. It is hoped and desired that the Lord will be present with you, strengthen and encourage you and your men to quit themselves like men. You have a good cause, and a good God that is all-sufficient: in the mount he will be seen, and make bare his arm for the salvation of his poor creatures that wait on him. To whose special grace for guidance and protection you are commended by him who is, Sir, your real friend and servant,

"Edward Rawson, *Secretary.*

"By order of the Court.

"Boston, 16th of March, $167\frac{5}{6}$.

"For Major Willard. Leave this with Mr. Chickering, to be delivered to the post going to Groton; or Mr. Foster, the chirurgeon." *

The incursions of the enemy, which had been drawing nearer and nearer, and the fear of which had become intense among the inhabitants of Groton, were now to be realized at that place; and Major Willard and his family were to be involved in the general calamity. The attack upon the town seems to have been made in each instance while he was absent upon the public service. There are

* I have transcribed the above letter from a copy furnished to me by my friend, the late William Gibbs, Esq. I think that the letter is not to be found in the archives in the office of the Secretary of State. Mr. Gibbs was a gentleman of great worth, and so exceedingly modest and retiring in his disposition as to amount to personal injustice. In his earlier years, he was a diligent collector of materials pertaining to individual history gathered from ancient papers. He was a descendant from Major Willard by the intermarriage of his ancestor, Henry Gibbs, Esq., with Katherine, daughter of Hon. Josiah Willard, of Boston, for many years Secretary of the Province, Judge of Probate for Suffolk, and member of the Executive Council. The Secretary was son of the Rev. Samuel Willard.

several contemporary accounts of the destruction of Groton, differing somewhat in details as well as in dates, in addition to the narratives by the Mathers, and the more extended description by Hubbard. From the former of these, three in number, I will here quote as curious literary specimens. I should suppose that they were not of New-England origin. Certainly the first could not have been.

1. "The 14th of March, the savage enemy set upon a considerable town called Groughton, and burnt Major *Wilberd's* house first (who, with his family, removed to Charlestown), and afterwards destroyed sixty-five dwelling-houses more there; leaving but six houses standing in the whole town, which they likewise furiously attempted to set on fire: but, being fortified with arms and men as garisons, they with their shot killed several of the enemy, and prevented so much of their design. Nor do we hear that any person on our side was here either slain or taken captive."*

2. "In the beginning of March, our forces, under Major Savage, went towards the enemies head quarters: but their scouts had prevented his coming by their vigilance, so that they fled into the woods; we having only *the gleaning* of about seventeen of them that could not fly so fast as the rest. . . . On the 13th of March, before our forces could return towards our parts, the Indians sent a strong party, and assaulted the town of Growton, about forty miles northwest from Boston, and burned all the deserted houses. The garri-

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* "A new and further Narrative of the State of New England; being a continued Account of the bloudy Indian War from March till August, 1676," &c. London, 1676; folio. [In Harvard-College Library.] This is signed "N. S." The author is not known. There are two earlier pamphlets also in Harvard-College Library; the former entitled "The present State of New England with respect to the Indian War, . . . together with most of the remarkable Passages that have happened from the 20th of June till the 10th of November, 1675. . . . By a Merchant of Boston, and communicated to his friend in London. London, 1676." And the latter entitled "A Continuation of the State of New England; being a further account of the Indian Warr, . . . from the 10th of November, 1675, to the 8th of February, 167$\frac{5}{6}$. London, 1676." This also is signed "N. S." In the "New and further Narrative," the author, in giving "a true account" of the losses sustained in the war, says, "Grantham and Nashaway all ruined but one house or two." . . . "Many houses burnt at Springfield, Scituate, Lancaster," &c. Grantham is somewhat of a perversion of Groton; while Nashaway and Lancaster very unexpectedly become two places. Increase Mather cauterizes this writer.

soned houses, which were about ten,* all escaped but one, which they carried; but not the English in it; for there was but one slain, and two wounded." †

3. "The 7th of March following, these bloody Indians marcht to a considerable town called Groaton, where first they set fire to *Major Willard's house*, and afterwards burnt 65 more; there being seaventy two houses at first; so that there was left standing but six houses of the whole town." ‡

Increase Mather, in the preface to his brief history of the war with the Indians in New England, June 24, 1675, to Aug. 12, 1676, says that he writes on account of "the abounding mistakes" in the pamphlet by the Boston merchant, above cited; and the "worse things than meer mistakes" by a Quaker in Rhode Island.

According to Mather, on March 10 mischief was done, and several lives were cut off, by the Indians at Groton and Sudbury; and on March 13 they assaulted Groton, and left but few houses standing. One of the first was the meeting-house. Then "they scoffed and blasphemed, and came to Mr. Willard [the worthy pastor of the church there] his house, — which, being fortified, they attempted not to destroy it, — and tauntingly said, 'What will ye do for a house to pray in, now we have burnt your meeting-house?'" §

Hubbard's narrative ‖ is much more complete; and having been written soon after the four accounts from which I

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* Just double the actual number.

† "A true Account of the most considerable Occurrences that have hapened in the Warre between the English and the Indians in New England, from the 5th of May, 1676, to the 4th of August last, &c., as it hath been communicated by letters to a friend in London. The most exact account yet printed. . . . London, 1676; folio." — *Harvard-College Library.*

‡ "News from New England; being a true and last Account of the present bloody Wars carried on betwixt the Infidels, Natives, and the English Christians and converted Indians of New England, &c." . . . By "a Factor of New England to a Merchant in London. London, 1676." Reprinted by Drake, Boston, 1850.

§ Page 24.

‖ "A Narrative of the Indian Wars in New England, 1607 to 1677," &c. The late Mr. Butler, in his valuable History of Groton, cites the whole of Hubbard's long account of the destruction of that town.

have quoted, and after the entire cessation of hostilities, may be considered as the most worthy of reliance; although he is not so exact in writing as becomes a grave historian.

The actual dates, according to Hubbard, were three: —

1st, On March 2, in the night, the Indians rifled eight or nine houses, and carried away some cattle.*

2d, On March 9,† a parcel of Indians, who had been lurking about the town for two days, attacked four men who had gone from their garrison with two carts to get some hay. Two of the men escaped unharmed; the third was killed, stripped, and mangled; and the fourth was taken captive, but succeeded in making his escape to the garrison at Lancaster while his captors were differing as to the manner of his execution.

3d, On March 13, some four hundred Indians attacked the town. The inhabitants were gathered into five garrisons; four of which were near together, and the fifth was about a mile distant.‡ The people, not apprehending an attack at that time, — for, the day before, numbers of them had made excursions "many miles," without discovering any sign of an enemy, — were engaged in their usual avocations outside of the garrisons. At the onset, one man was killed, and three were wounded. The soldiers, instead of retreating to their own garrison, passed on to the next, leaving the women and children in the former garrison wholly without protection; but these last succeeded in making their escape to another fortified house, and the Indians seized upon the deserted post. From this point they fired upon the next garrison; and, almost immediately, other parties set fire to the houses in different parts of the town. The Indians, who were too numerous for the inhabi-

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* Mather makes no mention of the 2d of March.

† Mather says March 10.

‡ The four garrisons that were in proximity were near the middle of the town. The fifth was not distant enough to be on the Nonaicoicus Farm. Mr. Butler does not attempt to identify the locality of this last garrison.

tants to venture forth and encounter, attempted to get possession of one of the other garrisons by stratagem, but without success; and on the morning of the 14th of March, fearing, probably, that relief might be at hand, — for the town had then been in their possession for twenty-four hours, — they marched away, after offering shocking indignities to the bodies of the slain. They burnt about "forty dwelling-houses, besides other buildings." *

The chief leader of the Indians was inclined to be rather facetious and boastful. This was John Monoco, before mentioned; or "one-eyed John," as he was more familiarly called, — "a great captain among them." I do not know whether he was of the Nashaway tribe; but he lived near Lancaster at the beginning of the war, and seems to have been well acquainted both with the people of that town and of Groton. The garrison which John surprised was "in one end of the town." There he continued during the day in plundering; "and at night did very familiarly in appearance call out to Capt Parker, that was lodged in another garrison house." He "entertained a great deal of discourse" with Parker, "whom he called his old neighbour; dilating upon the cause of the war, and putting an end to it by a friendly peace; yet oft mixing bitter sarcasms with several blasphemous scoffs." Then he boasted that he had burnt Medfield and Lancaster, and now Groton, and should burn Chelmsford, Concord, Watertown, Cambridge, Charlestown, Roxbury, Boston; and then added, "What me will, me do." . . . "Not much unlike the proud Assyrian," saith

* Can the difference in these respective accounts be reconciled by interpreting the sixty-six houses, said in the former account to have been burnt, as houses and *other buildings*, according to Hubbard? In another place, Hubbard says that they burnt all the houses in town, "save four that were garrisoned; the meeting-house being the second house they fired:" and yet, in the "Table" explanatory of the map, on a subsequent page, after remarking that the town was deserted soon after the surprise on March 2, adds, "Yet are there 14 or 15 houses left standing to this day, though not inhabited for the present." In speaking of the attack upon Lancaster, he says, "The same Indians a while after had not been able to have done the mischief at Groaton which they did, had not a garrison been, as it were, unadviseadly delivered into their hands."

Hubbard, "(if his power had been equal to his pride,) sometimes threatened against Jerusalem."*

The Major's house at Nonaicoicus, as we have seen, was the first to be destroyed. It was in the southerly part of Groton, remote from other habitations, and several miles from the centre of the town. It would be marked out early for destruction, because it was a post on the very frontier, where troops were quartered and entertained, and whence orders were issued to those in subordinate command in the regiment. Perhaps those who had charge of the family in the absence of Major Willard took care for their removal soon after the alarm upon the 2d of March; but whether they first removed to one of the garrisons, — that of Rev. Samuel Willard, — or directly to Charlestown, I am unable to say. It cannot be supposed that the mother and children would remain in their exposed, unprotected situation after the first alarm. Several of the children were minors, and the youngest had but recently entered upon his seventh year.

"March 2, they assaulted Groton. The next day over night,† Major Willard, with seventy horse, came into town: forty foot also came up to their relief from Watertown." But the Indians had fled; and the inhabitants abandoned

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* Earlier in the war, "old Jethro" — an Indian who lived at Nobscot Hill, near Sudbury — was, unfortunately for himself, somewhat free of speech. At the Court of Assistants held Sept. 21, 1675, he was sentenced in thirty stripes "for his wicked speeches uttered by him in Mr. Willard's [Rev. Samuel] yard at Groaton, for which he was convicted" (p. 36). He, with his family, was among those sent to Deer Island. They escaped from the island. After the war, he delivered himself up at Cocheco [Dover], and was executed at Boston.

† There is no sense in this expression, *the next day over night*. It must be a misprint; for it gives no information as to the time of the Major's arrival. Of course, it could not have been the next day after March 2, because, when the Major arrived, the town had been destroyed; viz., March 13. Mr. Butler, in his History of Groton, suggests what seems to be the true reading; viz., for *over night* read *fortnight*. This would point to the 17th of March as the day of his arrival with the troops, and the various incidents described in the text would then follow in regular order. It should be remarked, that the first paragraph in Hubbard's narration gives a very general account of the attack and destruction; and then follow the details of March 2, 9, and 13.

the town soon afterwards, and took refuge in other places. Captain Sill, with a small party of dragoons and sixty carts, removed these people, with their property which had escaped the spoiler. They were attacked by the Indians "at a place of eminent advantage," — which Mr. Butler takes to be "Groton ridges," — and two of the carriers were mortally wounded. Hubbard states that these were the same Wamesit Indians who "the day before had burned some part of Chelmsford." At p. 83, he says that the burning of a part of Chelmsford was "about March 18." If this is the true date, Sill left Groton on the 19th of March, and Major Willard must have then been in town. The inhabitants scattered according to their affinities. Soon afterwards, a committee of three citizens was appointed by the council to consult the Middlesex towns as to the best means for defence of the out-towns, remote houses, and farms. The committee reported on the 28th of March, and recommended that such of the inhabitants of Lancaster, Groton, and Marlborough, as "have not some advantage of settlement (peculiar) in the Bay, be ordered to settle at the frontier-towns that remain, for their strengthning."

Major Willard remained in Groton with the Essex and Norfolk troops, as I suppose, from March 17 to March 21. Previous to March 17, I have nothing further to add. The troops that ranged all along the border, under the Major and Captain Gookin, were in such constant motion, that it is not possible to ascertain their position on any particular day, unless from incidental circumstances in particular instances, by which the memory thereof has been preserved. Probably no record was kept by which posterity could trace the daily marches and counter-marches which were performed according to the immediate urgent occasion, with unceasing diligence, on the slightest intimation of danger from whatever quarter. But it so happens that a short statement is preserved, under his own hand, which shows how the old servant of the public was employed from March 21 to March 29. I cannot state the purpose for which this paper was written,

any further than it can be gathered from its contents. I presume that it was presented to his associates in the council. It is as follows; viz.: —

"A short narrative of what I have attended unto by [order of ?] the council of late since I went to relieve Groton. The 21, 1, '75.'76,* I went to Concord, and divided the troop committed unto me from Essex and Norfolk into three pts, — one to guard the cart pressed from Sudbury; one pt for the cart pressed from Concord, both to Lancaster; and one part for the cart that went from Charlestown and Watertown, that went volunteers, or were hired when I had sent them to their several places. I came down,† being the 22, 1, 75–6, and went to Concord the 25, 1, '75–6. When I came there, and inquired how it was with Lancaster, the answer was, they were in distress. I presently sent forty horse thither to fetch away corn, and I went that night to Chelmsford to see how it was with them. They complained Billerica Bridge stood in great need of being fortified. I ordered that to be done. Also they told me that the Indians made two great raft of board and rails that they had got, that lay at the other side of the river. I ordered twenty soldiers to go over and take them, and tow them down the river, or preserve them as they see cause. The 27th of this instant, I went from Chelmsford to Concord again. When I came there, the troopers that I sent to Lancaster last had brought away all the people there, but had left about eighty bushels of wheat and Indian corn. Yesterday I sent forty horses or more to fetch it away, and came down from Concord. This day I expect they will be at Concord. Some of the troop I released when this last work was done. The other I left order to scout abroad until they hear from me again. I thought it not meet to release men when we stand in need of men. My desire is to know what I shall do herein. Concord and Chelmsford look every day to be fired, and would have more men, but know not how to keep them nor pay them. — Your humb^{l} serv^{t},

"Simon Willard.

"29, 1, '76." ‡

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* Tuesday, 21st March, 1675–6. † To Boston.

‡ On this day — Wednesday, March 29 — he was sitting as one of the members of the Court of Assistants, at which court some admiralty cases were in hearing.

In the preceding pages, it has been shown that his public service, after his return from his perilous expedition to Brookfield and the exposed towns on Connecticut River, until within a few days of his death, was large and laborious. This will still further appear from the paper I shall quote in the context. There was unceasing and vigilant devotion to duty upon an extended and sparsely settled frontier, — a post of peculiar danger. There was sacrifice of domestic quiet and comfort throughout the long and dreary winter of 1675–6, in the arrival, entertainment, and departure of troopers; while the appointment of garrisons, the distribution and change of military forces, and the general oversight of numerous exposed points, with limited means for their protection, at a distance from the resorts of a large population, were enough to tax the powers of a commander in the vigor of manhood, and to fill the mind with constant and anxious apprehension. We hear no complaint; no dispensation from active labor is sought, by reason of advanced age; no wish is expressed to escape from a responsible station, and to seek shelter and repose in secure places near the coast. Where he had planted his stakes and cast his lot, there, God willing, he would remain, share with his neighbors in the common trouble, and abide the issue of events.

The paper to which I have referred seems to have been presented to the General Court after his death, and was passed upon in October following. It is not in his handwriting; nor was it prepared, probably, until near the time when offered to the court. It was written by some one — perhaps a neighbor — who knew whereof he affirmed. The orthography — none of the best — I have not thought worth the while to retain; but, in all else, it is an exact transcript from the original. It is indorsed, "Allowance to Major

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This was the last term of that tribunal at which he was present. He was present also, as we have seen, at the court which was held on the 7th of March; which was the first court that was held after December, 1675.

Symon Willard p^r. Curiam;" and tells its own pregnant story with unstudied simplicity.

"In the Major's journey to Quaboag, in money which was expended out of purse for the necessary relief of the wounded men there (£5).

"From the 20*th of September till the* 18*th of April*, the Major was employed about country business, settling of garrisons in towns, and settling the Indians at Concord and Chelmsford, and other business, which is left to your Honours consideration.

"Excepting *about six weeks* of that time before mentioned, the Major was seldom at home.*

"Also a great deal of expense upon those that came to the Major upon special business from neighboring towns for settling garrisons, and other business was there entertained.

"Also Captain Mosely's men, six of them, and their horses, quartered there sixteen nights, when they were scouting from town to town.†

"Also there was in the beginning of the war two scouts, about eight men in a scout, which met once in two days there for about a fortnight, or near a fortnight.

"Also the Major's son lost a very good horse at Quaboag (£3).

"Also Captain Brocklebank's lieutenant and seven of his men quartered there a week, and three horses.

"For Captain Wheeler's and Captain Brocklebank's men, dining them and their horses, when they were on the scout, about thirty of them for six days.

"Also six of Captain Wheeler's troopers and their horses quartered there twenty days, and had three quarts of corn a day for their horses; and six of them one night, and their horses.

"And the troop was sometimes all of them refreshed there.

"For damage done in corn by soldiers' horses, esteemed by several judicious men to be fifty bushels of corn.

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* From Sept. 20, 1675, to April 18, 1675, absent from home five and a half months (about one hundred and sixty-eight days) on public business. This includes the whole winter.

† See Captain Parker's letter, Aug. 25, 1675; *ante*, p. 249.

	£	s.	d.
"Expenses out of purse in repairing of the house at Lancaster, 1,000 of bricks	2	0	0
"And the bricklayer's work and day	1	0	6
"Also the carpenter's work and boards and nails	5	3	0
"For household stuff spoiled, prized to	0	10	0

Then follows, in the handwriting of the committee: —

	£	s.	d.
Money expended to Quaboag	5	0	0
Six of Captain Mosely's men and horse sixteen nights	4	2	0
Scouts (sixteen men), a fortnight's time; met once in two days, meat for themselves and horses	3	4	0
A very good horse lost at Quaboag	3	0	0
Eight of Captain Brocklebank's men quartered a week, with three horses	2	9	8
Thirty men six days, of Captain Brocklebank's and Wheeler's, one meal a day, themselves and horses	4	10	0
Six of Captain Wheeler's troop and horses twenty-one nights	4	16	0
Twelve bushels oats for said horses	1	4	0
	£28	5	8

	£	s.	d.
Damage done in corn by soldiers' horses, valued at fifty bushels	7	10	0
Expenses out of purse in repairing the house blown up at Lancaster*	8	5	6
Household stuff then spoiled, prized at	10	0	0
Brought from the other side	28	5	8
	£54	1	2

* This I suppose to have been the garrison which the record states was "kept in Major Willard's house," and was in the centre of the town; see *ante*, p. 237. It had been formerly the residence of Major Willard, and one of the two garrisoned houses in which a remnant of the inhabitants continued to find shelter after the fatal 10th of February. The other, called Prescott's Garrison, was about a mile distant. It may have been blown up by these people when they left under the escort of the troop of forty horse, which the Major ordered up to Lancaster on Saturday, the 25th of March. (See his "narrative," *ante*, p. 279.)

Brought from the other side . . . . . £54. 1s. 2d.

"For the Major's pains in settling garrisons, and entertaining persons repairing to him from time to time about the war's business; entertaining all Captain Wheeler's troop one day, &c., which are mentioned on the other side, which we have allowed nothing for, but leave it to the court, it being said to have been as chargeable as all other expenses.

"The sum of £54. 1s. 2d. we judge it reason it should be allowed, the said disbursements being upon and by such who were employed by special order from authority.

"Laur. Hammond.
Humphry Davy.
John Wayte.

"The deputies judge meet to allow of this account of £54. 1s. 2d. according to the return of the committee as above; and also do allow of £10 more for extraordinary entertainments not brought to account on the other side. The particulars are as above mentioned; our honoured magistrates hereto consenting.

"William Torrey, Clericus.

"Consented to by the magistrates.

"J. Pynchon, p^r^ order."

General Court, October, 1676. — "The court, having perused the account brought into the committee who had the examination thereof, of the expenses, disbursements, &c., of the late Major Simon Willard, — amounting to the sum of £54. 1s. 2d., the account whereof is on file, — the court judgeth it meet to allow thereof, and add £10 more for extraordinary entertainments not brought to account; ordering the Treasurer to make payment thereof, — in all, £64. 1s. 2d."

The short "narrative" on p. 279, written by the Major, brings down his life to the 29th of March; at which time he was residing in Charlestown with his hastily gathered family. His home was desolate: his mansion-house at Groton, with its contents, having been destroyed by the enemy; and that

at Lancaster "blown up," probably on the final retreat of the inhabitants.* His next public appearance — and his last in either of the courts of justice — was at the term of the County Court begun at Cambridge on Tuesday, April 4, and held by him in connection with Gookin and Danforth. Just one week afterwards (April 11), he had the pleasure of knowing that a grateful public still acknowledged the value of his faithful labors, — now extended over a continuous period of forty years, — when the official count of the votes placed him among the highest on the list of the proposed assistants for the political year beginning in May, 1676; in fact, leading all others, with the exception of the governor and deputy-governor.†

One week more passes on, and we still find him engaged in public duties, until prostrated by sickness, within a week of his death. "From the 20th of September *till the* 18th *of April*, the Major was employed about country business," &c.‡ Thus said one who knew, and his statement is indorsed by the General Court. We need no other or higher voucher of the great fact, so satisfactory to every descendant, that their ancestor did not bate one jot of heart in the enlightened, conscientious, active discharge of his official engagements, up to the very moment when he was struck down by fatal disease.

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* See note; *ante*, p. 282.

† The list of names, with the votes annexed, will be found on p. 300.

‡ *Ante*, p. 281.

CHAPTER XI.

LIFE AND TIMES OF SIMON WILLARD.

(Continued.)

In reviewing the history of Major Willard during Philip's war, I doubted for a time whether it would be profitable to take notice of the statement which has been made, that, notwithstanding his prompt, decided, and vigorous course in hastening to the relief of Brookfield, he fell under the severe censure of the government, even to the extent of losing his commission. But as the statement has been gravely made by a respectable writer, has been repeated by subsequent historians who are entitled to consideration, and is likely to pass for authentic history, I have come to the conclusion, that it is most fitting to the memory of a brave and veteran officer and a conscientious man, to examine the point with care, and, once for all, to prove the allegation utterly groundless. All diligent inquirers in history have reason to know, that instances are not infrequent in which careless statements made by one writer are hastily adopted by subsequent writers in good faith, but without examination; and so pass current from age to age as veritable history, while having no foundation in truth.* I proceed to show that the statement in question belongs to this category.

The earliest instance in which I have met with it — and, I doubt not, the earliest in fact — is in Rev. Dr. Fiske's

* The story about the men of Kent (*ante*, pp. 116-17) is an illustration in point.

sermon, 1775.* He concludes a note, describing certain incidents in the siege, in the following terms; viz.: —

"Long as this note is, I cannot conclude without saying something concerning Major Willard, the celebrated deliverer of the people here. His conduct in altering his course, and coming to the relief of Brookfield, being dictated by humanity, and executed with bravery and success, has gained him the applause of people in general. But, as it was beside his orders, he was censured by the court, and cashiered; which disgusted his friends, and broke his heart. And though the punishment may seem too rigorous, yet it ought to be remembered, that, if commanders of parties sent upon particular expeditions may take liberty to vary from their express orders, nothing effectual could be accomplished; and only confusion, disappointment, loss, and in many cases ruin, would be likely to ensue."

In view of this statement, — for I suppose that it is the only one to which reference is made, — and relying thereupon as true, Hoyt makes the following very judicious observations; viz.: —

"Notwithstanding the gallant conduct of Major Willard in the relief of Brookfield, it is stated that he was censured by the Governor and Council† of Massachusetts for deviating from his orders, which were to attack the Indians in a different quarter. It will not be believed, however, that the orders were so rigidly imperative as to admit of no discretion in the commander. In all expeditions against Indians in the distant forests, some latitude is evidently necessary. Probably the very Indians against whom Major Willard was destined were then at Brookfield; and, if the orders were not so far discretionary as to allow him to change his route to relieve a place attacked by so powerful a force, the censure ought to rest

* "A Sermon, preached at Brookfield on the last day of the year 1775, together with some marginal notes, &c.; . . . by Nathan Fiske, A.M., Pastor of the Third Church in Brookfield. Boston, New England: printed by Thomas and John Fleet, 1776."

† Dr. Fiske says he was censured "by the court;" which must have been either by the Governor and Council, or by the General Court. It will be observed, that General Hoyt merely says that the Major was "censured." He does not go the full length of Dr. Fiske's statement, and "cashier" the Major.

upon the Governor and Council who gave them, and not upon him. Had he refused to relieve the distressed inhabitants of Brookfield, a more severe vituperation would have been bestowed upon him by the people of the Province [Colony]. Under all the circumstances of the case, his conduct must be pronounced highly proper, and his achievement gallant." *

Baylies, in his "History of Plymouth Colony," — after stating that Major Willard "so silently and skilfully managed his approach, that he was perceived by the garrison before he was discovered by the Indians," — takes up the refrain thus: —

"His fate was disastrous. He was cashiered for disobedience of orders in marching to the relief of Brookfield. Unable to brook the disgrace, this brave and humane man died of a broken heart."

No authority is cited either by Hoyt or Baylies; but it is evident that they relied upon Fiske for their respective statements. And here, in the first place, we have a right to call upon Dr. Fiske for his authorities and proofs; but, on turning to his note, there is an entire absence of reference. I am wholly at a loss to determine whence the origin of the allegation: certainly it is not to be found in history; and, if it came by tradition, — vague and uncertain in its nature, — it is of nothing worth. With the author of the Brookfield sermon rests the first enunciation of the story, so far as I am aware. I make this remark not loosely, but after a pretty diligent and thorough investigation. One hundred years after the event, we first hear of this conduct on the part of the Governor and Council, or of the General Court, so opprobrious if true, and so unjust to a long-tried and faithful officer.

This fact alone would be almost — nay, entirely — conclusive, unless it could be shown that contemporaneous records and other proofs were all lost or destroyed.

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* Hoyt's Indian Wars, p. 102.

I am well aware, that the military law, as it then stood, did not allow a commander to march out of the county with his regiment unless by order from the General Court, the Council, or the Major-General, "except it be on pursuit of the enemy upon a rout;" and that the same prohibition extended to the captains and officers of the troops of horse, unless "by order of the Major-General."* But it is equally true, that this law, made in time of peace, and without adequate consideration of the nature and mode of Indian warfare, was found to be wholly unwise when the exigency arose in the midst of Philip's war, which first put it to the test. A special meeting of the General Court was called by Governor Leverett on the 21st of February, 1675–6, partly, I suppose, if not mainly, for repealing this provision of the law military, which the legislators saw and felt to be dangerous in its actual tendency, viewing it evidently in the same light that General Hoyt did at a later day. Conflict had already recommenced, and occasions were likely to arise when it might become necessary for the public safety that the commander of a regiment should be allowed to pass beyond the line of his own county. The kind of warfare required that much should be left to the discretion of the chief officer; and no one was worthy of holding an important commission to whom such discretion could not be readily intrusted. Hear the record of the meeting to which I have referred, — the very first proceeding after the court assembled; viz.: —

"Whereas the law military, sect. 11, enjoins that no major of any regiment shall march with his regiment out of the county wherein he hath command, nor cause any part thereof so to do, without order from the General Court, Council, or Major-General, except it be in pursuit of the enemy upon a rout, this court doth order, that during these wars, and till this court take further order, it

* It is worthy of remark, that the law military prescribes penalties in many instances for its violation; but there is no penalty annexed to the provision forbidding the commander to march his men beyond the borders of their county.

shall be in the liberty of the major of each county, or any inferiour commission-officer who hath command of any company or party of men, to go out of their own proper county for engaging, pursuing, or destroying the enemy, so as they act not contrary to particular order from superiour officer or authority."

It may be, as I have intimated, that it was owing to the proceeding of Major Willard, among other actual experiences, that led to the change which the state of the times, as well as public sentiment, no doubt demanded. And this covers the whole breadth of the allegation against him. It pronounces the law unwise. It admits, in substance, that he acted discreetly and well; and, by the clearest and sharpest implication, negatives the idea of censure. Would the Governor and Council by one vote "cashier" a veteran officer for saving a town just beyond the confines of his military command, and then, by another vote, concur with the deputies in branding the law that punished him, as one pregnant with hazard to the State? The Major was present during the whole of this session; and, if the proposed change in the law was discussed, he was present at the discussion, and probably took part in it. It may have been said, "True, you have exceeded the authority vested in you by the letter of the law, and have rendered yourself liable to the judgment of the court: but we acknowledge the law to be unwise, for so experience has taught us; and we shall better satisfy ourselves, and precisely meet the public sentiment, by voting its repeal, than by enforcing its provision. If the law stands, we must give vitality to its letter; while we cannot find it in our hearts to condemn your conduct. We will therefore alter the law, rather than that there should be a record to our discredit in after-times by inflicting a cruel injury upon you." We shall see in the sequel whether any such record exists, or ever did exist.

Contemporary evidence is ever justly considered of the highest authority, — the surest reliance in the understanding and interpretation of events. To this we should address

ourselves in the present case. In referring to the entries of that day to ascertain the facts, and learn what was thought of them, we should expect, that, in mentioning the censure dealt upon the Major, writers would either praise its justice, while regretting the necessity; or, on the other hand, condemn its injustice. Fidelity to history would not justify any one, under any circumstances, in passing it over; still less could that justification be extended to all. If all contemporaneous history joins in "expressive silence" upon a given state of facts, we at once say that such facts never existed, and scout the notion that they could have remained under ground for a century, and have first *cropt-out* in the pamphlet of a retired clergyman. We must remember that our whole inquiry is limited to the interval between August, 1675, and April, 1676, — the time of the Major's death; and that the affirmative lies with those who make the charge to substantiate its truth by satisfactory evidence of the time when, and the body by whom, the deed was done. Let me, hen, in the first instance, turn to the historians.

1. We have Captain Thomas Wheeler's Narrative, from which I have before quoted. For many years he was a neighbor of, and, as is very evident, a great friend to, the Major. His narrative was published before his death; which took place in December, 1676, four months after the events commemorated by him. He relates with much minuteness the events of this expedition until the arrival of the Major at Brookfield, as well as what occurred there; the subsequent return of the Major to Groton; and the final healing of the wounds of the narrator and his son.

Here was a fine opportunity for Wheeler to express his grief at the sharp treatment of his old friend and commander; but not one word of it is lisped, — not the slightest intimation of any proceedings against him in the legislature, or any murmur in the country. No one more likely than this writer, in expressing his own private feelings, to become the mouth-piece of a community whose moral sentiment

would have been outraged by a punishment having in it rather the appearance of vengeance than of justice.

2. We have Hubbard's very full and minute "History of the Indian Wars," published in 1677. He recites the events at Brookfield very much in detail, and had Wheeler's narrative before him when he wrote. This is proved beyond question by the numerous parts of sentences in his history which are identical in expression with the narrative. He also speaks in glowing terms of the Major's services, and is wholly silent upon the subject of censure of any kind whatsoever.

3. Then comes Increase Mather's "History of the War with the Indians," 1675, 1676. Mather wrote to correct mistakes; and had no design of publishing until he read the narrative of the war said to be written by a merchant of Boston,* whose "abounding mistakes," and "the worse things than meer mistakes" in the Rhode-Island Quaker's narrative, "quickened" him to the publication. Here we have the same grateful acknowledgments for the deeds done at Brookfield, and the same marvellous silence touching the alleged proceedings of the ruling powers. In mentioning the death of the Major, as we shall see in the sequel, Mather pays a warm tribute to his memory; and this, both in point of time and in subject-matter, offered a very favorable opportunity to the writer to state these proceedings, with his own opinion thereupon. "Censuring" and "cashiering" could not be enacted in a corner, but would be blazoned all abroad, and become a subject of general knowledge, in a community not too numerous to invest with a personal interest whatever occurred of a public nature.

4. Next we have — though published before Hubbard and Mather — the various pamphlets of the day, as before cited: viz., "The Present State of New England;" "A Continuation of the State of New England;" "A New and Further Narrative of the State of New England;" "News from New

* See *ante*, p. 273.

England;" and, lastly, "A True Account of the most considerable Occurrences," &c.* I do not value these five pamphlets very highly. They are loosely and carelessly written; but their errors, for the most part, are very clumsy, and are easily detected. The writers, however, have preserved some facts which are of interest; while their utter silence upon the subject of my inquiry, in connection with their being written on the spot, is as full of significance as that of Wheeler, Increase Mather, or Hubbard, and their negative testimony equally as strong.

5. Coming down in the line of time, I would next refer to Cotton Mather, whose "Magnalia" was published in 1702. The author was a student in Harvard College when Brookfield was relieved; and had, as everybody must have had, an intimate knowledge of all the prominent events in Philip's war, — that all-engrossing subject of thought and anxiety. In his account of the Indian wars (book vii.), he describes, in his peculiar vein, the events at Brookfield, and the timely succor, but maintains the same obdurate silence which marks all the preceding historians. Of all the narrators, Cotton Mather would be the very one to mark this passage in the life of Major Willard, and to justify or condemn the alleged course of the government from his own point of view.

6. Neal published his "History of New England" in 1720, with a better opportunity than any other foreigner, at that time, of ascertaining facts. He wrote in a truthful and honest spirit; and it is evident that he never heard of the allegation.

7. Hutchinson — the careful and accurate Hutchinson, fully imbued with the knowledge, though not with the spirit, of New-England history; having access, more than all others, to the archives of State; a most diligent collector of all materials, whether in manuscript or in print, that could elucidate his subject; and, with the aids of

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* See *ante*, pp. 273–4.

position, education, and disposition, preparing his work under the greatest advantage — gives no intimation that he had ever heard of the case. No such allegation could have escaped his inquiring mind.

8. Trumbull, too, entertaining no very kindly feeling towards Major Willard, briefly narrates the occurrences at Brookfield, and the part taken by the Major; and passes on, without a word to show that the story had ever reached his ears. I hardly think that he would have been restrained from relating it by any particular feeling of delicacy, or in qualification of his harsh judgment on the Ninigret question.

9. Rev. Dr. Willard, of Stafford, Conn., who was on terms of familiar acquaintance with several of the grandchildren* of his first American ancestor, makes no mention of the allegation. He and Dr. Fiske were friends: they lived within some twenty miles of each other; and, after Fiske's death, Willard married his widow. Dr. Willard wrote, judging from internal evidence, some years after the delivery of the sermon; and, undoubtedly, with a full knowledge of Fiske's statement. He wrote, too, with an intention of giving his children some account of their ancestors. If he had placed the slightest reliance upon Fiske's tradition, would he omit to mention it, and defend the cherished fame of his ancestor? or, on the other hand, acknowledge the justice of the visitation, however severe he may have thought it? The impartial character of his mind forbids the suggestion, that he could have made the statement to Dr. Fiske, and then have wholly omitted it in his own sketch, in which he gives an account of the relief of Brookfield.

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* These were Josiah Willard, Secretary of the Province; several of the children of the Major's fourth son, Henry (as Colonels Samuel, Josiah, and others); and probably several of the children of the Major's eighth son, Benjamin Willard, Esq., of Grafton; also those worthy men, Deacon Simon Stevens and Joseph Stevens, sons of the Major's daughter, Mary (the second of that name), who intermarried with Cyprian Stevens; besides grand-daughters.

10. A subsequent minister of Brookfield — Rev. Mr. Foote — delivered an historical discourse in that town, November, 1828. This discourse is in print. In a note at p. 33, the author, after briefly recapitulating some facts, says, "These circumstances warrant the conclusion, that Major Willard was not cashiered. His conduct in rescuing the inhabitants of this place from destruction deserves to be commemorated by the descendants of those whose lives he preserved; and his memory will be dear to all who know how to value deeds of heroism performed for the deliverance of the defenceless."*

These various and separate testimonies are, to my mind, conclusive; and I might here end the inquiry with safety. But, as I have entered upon the investigation, in order to give abundant satisfaction, it is more becoming to pursue it until I have exhausted all the sources of proof within my knowledge.

The remaining evidence which will be adduced, to exclude any possibility of question, consists mainly of official documents, most of which have already been referred to in another connection, with no view to the present subject of inquiry. No apology will be made for introducing them again for my present purpose.

The inquiry, it will be remembered, is limited to the period between August, 1675, and April, 1676. I shall proceed in the order of time with this class of proofs, as the more simple and natural course. They show that he was treated as the commander, and was the commander, of the Middlesex regiment, until his death.

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* Before this discourse was published, I took the liberty of writing to the Rev. Mr. Foote in relation to Dr. Fiske's tradition. The descendants of Major Willard will pardon me for introducing a short extract from his answer, under date of Dec. 26, 1828, as follows; viz., "Previous to the receipt of your very acceptable letter, I had nearly satisfied myself that Dr. Fiske's note respecting Major Willard is incorrect. Your statements have removed all doubt, and, in connection with a passage [p. 196, Hubbard's 'Indian Wars,' Worcester edition], render it altogether certain that he died in office. I shall take pleasure in stating that the author of this heroic deed, though not rewarded, was not disgraced therefor."

1. On Aug. 24, he was still in command. He was then either at Brookfield or at the river-towns; at any rate, he had not returned to Groton. It seems that he had written two or three letters to the Governor and Council upon the posture of affairs; and that, on the day last mentioned, the council returned an answer, regretting that he had not been able to meet the enemy; leaving to his sole discretion "the ordering and disposing of the forces under his command;" hoping that he would endeavor, to the utmost, to distress the enemy; advising him to garrison Quaboag; and asking his advice, whether he had not better send a party of soldiers to the Nipmuck towns, in the borders of the present State of Connecticut, — more distant from his regiment than Brookfield; and should he succeed, in the employment of such scouts as he might engage, in finding the retreats of the enemy, whether it would not be well to march secretly by night, and draw them into an ambuscade. Why was he not recalled, and brought to trial?

The council enclose a letter to Major Pynchon, which they desire that Major Willard should "peruse and seal," touching sending forces to secure the river-towns. They advise him, "if he think fit, to ride up with a guard to Springfield, and give Major Pincheon a visit, and encourage him and the people in those parts." They add, that they have given orders to the committee to forward the small particulars he sent for; and conclude "with their love and respects."* No "censure" or "cashiering," thus far; but trust and confidence, satisfaction with his conduct, and loving regard. The whole tone and tenor of the letter are in approval of his course. New duties are intrusted to him in the ordering and disposing of his forces; garrisoning Brookfield; aiding Major Pynchon at Springfield; pursuing the enemy to their retreat, when ascertained through scouts, and drawing them into an ambuscade.

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* *Ante*, pp. 252–3.

2. Aug. 25. Captain James Parker, of Groton, in a letter to the governor, states that he has received twenty men from the worshipful Major Willard, and Captain Mosely's men, to secure the town of Groton; that is to say, the commanding officer had detached that number of men from his own forces.*

3. Sept. 25. The joint letter of Major Willard, Captains Adams, Parker, and Kidder, addressed to the Governor and Council, remonstrating against the order given to Captain Henchman to detach eighty men from their garrisons to march against the Indians at Pennecook;† and,—

4. Sept. 30. The revocation of that order by the council, in a letter to the Major; in which they concur with him, that the garrisons should be kept up, and direct him *to order the commanders of the several garrisons* to take care that the soldiers be daily "improved" to range and scout about the borders of each town. The council further instruct him to order Captain Henchman to employ the Essex-County soldiers that are at Chelmsford to scout abroad with some able guide. They also "propose to him," on consultation with the officers, to construct forts in each town, after the Indian manner, as places of refuge for families in case of an alarm. And they make various other suggestions, which "they leave to his prudent and serious action," &c.‡

Nearly two months had now elapsed; and this letter shows that he was still in command, receiving orders from the government, and transmitting them to his subordinates, and his opinion asked as to constructing Indian forts.

5. Oct. 14. Major Willard met the selectmen and committee of the militia of Billerica by virtue of his office, and signified his approval of the garrisons which they had established, and assisted them in instituting a number of additional garrisons. Directions were given to the Major to "put his whole regiment into a posture of war;" and, "in

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* *Ante*, p. 249. † *Ante*, p. 255. ‡ *Ante*, pp. 256–8.

the absence of the Major," Captain Gookin was intrusted with the duty.*

6. Nov. 3. The General Court made him a grant of ten pounds for his services expressed in his petition, "and as a recompense for the same." †

7. Nov. 20. He was ordered by the council to discharge sixty soldiers from certain of the frontier-towns, and send them home; and in their place, as it would seem, —

8. Nov. 22. He issued *his official warrants* to the several towns to impress a certain number of men, and make return to him of their doings. Sudbury, it will be remembered, expressed a hope that their quota would not be called for, being a frontier-town; and added, "We have made our address to our honoured Major" upon the subject. Of course, he was then in full command.‡

9. Feb. 2, 1676. The council issued orders, *directed to Major Willard, to raise a body of troopers and dragoons* to range the country between Groton, Lancaster, and Marlborough.§ The Groton men, in their petition to the council, Feb. 6, say "that it seemeth meet to your worships to command unto our honoured Major Willard, and to impose upon him the maintaining a continued scout of forty troopers and dragoons," &c.¶ By what right was this command imposed, save that very right which the civil power possessed of issuing orders to the military commander?

10. Feb. 11. The council acknowledge the receipt of the Major's letter excusing his absence from the Board owing to the condition of Lancaster; and they urge him to do all in his power *for the relief and succor of that town.* They also state, that they are *endeavoring* to raise forces; and add,

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* *Ante*, p. 258. † *Ante*, p. 254, note. ‡ *Ante*, p. 259.

§ *Ante*, p. 265. The necessity for raising these "troopers," in addition to his regular command, arose, I suppose, from the fact that most of his men were on garrison duty in the exposed towns. ¶ *Ante*, p. 266.

"You shall hear more from us speedily; and in the interim, February being now come, we desire you to be in readiness if you should have *a full command over the forces to be sent forth from this Colony.*"* A cashiered officer a candidate before the Governor and Council for a full command over the forces to be sent forth from the Colony!

11. Feb. 15. Chelmsford represents to the Governor and Council, that "a part of their men are abroad with Major Willard *upon public service.*"†

12. March 1. Captain Joseph Cook, of Cambridge, is ordered by the council to conduct the Essex and Norfolk levies of "dragoons and troopers" up to Major Willard; "and, when you shall come to the Major's quarters, you are required to attend *to his further orders.*"‡

13. March 16. The council write to him, giving information of the examination of one Taylor, an English captive taken by the Indians at Medfield; and entreat him, — acting upon that examination, and the information he had of the resolution of the Indians to destroy Marlborough, Concord, &c., — that "if he has issued the business of Groton, at least done what he can, and no likelihood of his reaching or engaging the enemy, that he, with his forces, . . . keep so . . . scouting or ranging towards Marlborough as may seasonably give present rest, and [in] future prevent what mischief may be."§

14. March 17. "Major Willard, with seventy horse, came into town" (Groton).‖

15. March 21 to March 29. "After issuing the business of Groton, or done what he could there," we have his own account of his employment under the order of the council, until March 29, at Concord, Chelmsford, &c., with the troopers from Essex and Norfolk "committed to him."¶

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* *Ante*, p. 267. These are the forces which were afterwards sent out under Major Savage, but were not successful in meeting the enemy.

† *Ante*, p. 268. ‡ *Ante*, p. 269. § *Ante*, p. 271–2. ‖ *Ante*, p. 277. ¶ *Ante*, p. 279.

16. Sept. 20, 1675, to April 18, 1676. We have seen, that, in this period of seven months, he was wholly employed "about country business;" and that during that time, excepting about six weeks, he was seldom at home.

This statement, made with the sanction of the General Court, covers the whole ground, and renders it as clear that he was in command up to April 18, as that he had been at any previous time.

17. In all the correspondence that is extant* between the council and Major Willard, there is not the slightest intimation, not the most distant hint, of any censure; while, on the part of the council, every communication is couched in terms of friendly consideration, and of entire respect and trust.

18. The votes for magistrates, or assistants, in 1676, show the honorable position in which Major Willard stood with the public in the spring of that year. They bear a testimony not to be mistaken.

By the law, — as revised at the October Session, 1670, and in force in 1676, — the freemen of the respective towns were to vote for eighteen persons "whom they desire to have chosen for magistrates, or assistants, at the next Court of Election.† The votes were directed to be returned to the shire-towns on a particular day, and to Boston on "the second third day of the second month" (second Tuesday of April),‡ to be opened on that day in Boston; "and those eighteen that have most votes shall be the men (and they only) which shall be nominated at the Court of Election for magistrates, or assistants." At this time (1676), out of the

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* That is to say, all of which I have any knowledge. There were several letters written by the Major, which are referred to by the council, but are not on file. There may have been other letters written by the council; but those from which I have quoted, and which cover nearly the whole period in question, tell the same story.

† In 1676, this fell on the third day of May; being "the last Wednesday in Easter Term."

‡ April 11, 1676.

eighteen gentlemen voted for, the governor and lieutenant-governor were to be chosen, and ten assistants. The votes of all the counties in the Colony — viz., Essex, Suffolk, Hampshire, Middlesex, Norfolk (Dover and Portsmouth having been returned separately from those of Norfolk), and Yorkshire * — were opened on the 11th of April. The following are the returns; viz.: —

"The Names of eighteen Gentlemen who had most Votes for Magistrates for the year ensuing, as appears at opening the sd. Votes at Boston, April 11th, 1676, with the number of Votes for each: † —

John Leverett, Esqr . .	1320	Ric. Russell, Esqr . .	1225
Saml Symonds, Esqr . .	1281	Tho. Danforth, Esqr . .	840
Simon Bradstreet, Esqr .	974	Wm Hathorne, Esqr . .	1052
Daniel Gookin, Esqr . .	446	Jno. Pynchon, Esqr . .	709
Daniel Denison, Esqr . .	976	Edwd. Tyng, Esqr . .	1183
Simon Willard, Esqr, dead‡	1278	Wm Stoughton, Esqr . .	950
Tho. Clarke, Esqr . . .	1045	Mr. Peter Bulkely . .	492
Mr. Joseph Dudley . .	669	Capt Hopestill Foster .	456
Capt. Nath. Saltonstall .	537	Major Tho. Savage . .	441"

Of these gentlemen, Leverett and Symonds, the governor and deputy-governor of the preceding year, stood the highest (which was pretty much a matter of course); and they were respectively re-elected this year. Major Willard stood the *third:* having *forty-two votes* less than Governor Leverett, the most popular man in the Colony; *three* less

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* Yorkshire comprised the towns in Maine over which the Bay Colony had extended her jurisdiction. These were York, Kittery (including the present towns of Berwick and Eliot), Wells, Cape Porpoise, and Saco (including the present town of Biddeford).

† Collections of the New-Hampshire Historical Society, vol. iii. pp. 99, 100. Communicated by Lemuel Shattuck, Esq.

‡ This word was written in by the committee of one from each county who opened the returns, and certified at the beginning of the session to the names of the gentlemen voted for, together with the number of votes given to each as contained in the foregoing list.

than Deputy-Governor Symonds; and *fifty-two* more than the estimable Russell, who stood the fourth upon the list. Gookin's popularity at this time was in shadow, because of his defence of the Christian Indians. He was a worthy man, true to his honest conviction, and bore up with a brave spirit against the sharp persecutions of the day. The shadow soon passed away, as it ever does from brave and conscientious men, who scorn to pander to a depraved public sentiment; and he stood forth with new lustre. At the Court of Elections, Leverett was rechosen governor; Symonds, lieutenant-governor; and Messrs. Bradstreet, Denison, Russell, Danforth, Hathorne, Pynchon, Tyng, Stoughton, Clarke, and Joseph Dudley, were chosen assistants. Dudley (afterwards governor) stood the thirteenth on the list in the number of votes, and was elected by the court in consequence of the death of Major Willard.

19. No successor as commander of the Middlesex regiment was appointed until after Major Willard's death, when Gookin* succeeded to the vacancy. The record of his "choice and appointment" runs thus; viz.: —

"Att a Generall Court of Election held at Boston the 3^{d} of May, 1676, Capt. Daniel Gookin was by the whole Court chosen and appointed to be sarjant-major of the regiment of Middlesex."

In an ordinary time of peace, the chief office in the regiment would be filled at an early day: much more would this be the fact in a vacancy occurring at any point of time between August, 1675, and April, 1676, — embracing the *whole* of the darkest period of Philip's war.

20. Last of all, I would refer to the records of the General Court, which may be considered the highest authority on the point in question. Their entire proceedings, from August, 1675, to April, 1676, are in existence; containing all their transactions at the adjourned session in October, 1675, which was the first meeting after July; and at the fur-

* Gookin, as well as Willard, was a "Kentish souldier," according to Johnson.

ther adjournment in November, 1675, with that of February, 1676, which was the last during Major Willard's lifetime. These records have been consulted more than once in the original manuscripts, as well as in the recently printed volumes, to ascertain whether any ground exists to justify Dr. Fiske's statement. The examination has resulted, in each instance, in establishing the fact, that they contain not a word of censure of Major Willard. A silence so emphatic is equivalent to a positive denial.

The governor and assistants had no authority to remove from office. The charter vested in the General Court the election of "officers" for ordering the affairs of the company, and the resulting power of removal for "misdemeanor or defect," and the choice of others in their place. No distinction is made between military and civil officers. The charter speaks only of "officers" needful for "the government and plantation;" and their duties were to be defined, their oaths prescribed, and punishment for violation or neglect of duty imposed, by the General Court. And as the court had the right to repel by force of arms, by sea or land, all persons attempting the "destruction, invasion," &c., of the "plantation or inhabitants," it follows, of course, that military officers were embraced in a fair construction of the provisions of the charter.

In 1668, the General Court distinctly claim this power; and, referring to "the direction of our patent, relating to the stating of all military* officers in this jurisdiction," proceed to confirm former commissions; and add, that "for the time to come, where new are to be chosen, it is *only* in the power of the General Court (or, in case of emergency, for the Council of the Commonwealth) to nominate, choose, appoint, and impower all commission military officers, excepting the major-general, and admiral by sea, the choice of whom is otherwise provided for by law." A further provision is made for inferior officers.

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* The word "military" does not occur in any part of the charter.

This act confirmed the commission of Major Willard under the election by the train-bands of Middlesex in 1653, and the commissions of all other military officers. Under the same act, Gookin was chosen as his successor, as above mentioned.

CHAPTER XII.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SIMON WILLARD.

(Continued.)

We now approach the closing scene of Major Willard's long and arduous career. We may safely assume, that the life of exposure to which he had been inured during the forty-two years of residence upon the frontier of New England induced a vigorous habit of body, which enabled him to brave the many hardships and difficulties incident to his position even in time of peace; and at an advanced age, throughout the deadliest period of the war, to sustain an amount of labor and exercise that we of this generation would consider somewhat remarkable. No rail-car bore the veteran to the post of danger. There was no smooth, hard road, over which he could travel in easy carriage, — the poetry of motion, according to Dr. Johnson, — with relays of horses, to the points of attack, and be protected from heat and cold, from fatigue and peril, in his passage. There was only the rough path, along which the horseman forced his devious way, through tangled copse and stony places; fording or swimming the streams that would vainly endeavor to obstruct his course.

Major Willard was looking forward to a further term of service in civil life as an assistant and judge; and, in military life, to continued exertion in the field against an enemy still active and destructive. But, in this last year, an unusual load of care, with its train of anxieties, added to the hazards of an intense winter, — to which he was so often exposed on the journey or on the march, in long-continued absences from his cherished home, — must have rendered

him easily accessible to the attacks of active disease. It so happened in the spring-time of this year, in the order of Providence, that there was an unusual amount of sickness. Scarcely a hearthstone in New England escaped the visitation. In many families, every member was seized. In one small plantation, twenty persons died during the spring, and eight were buried in one week. In Boston, some fifty persons died in one month: three or four were buried in one day. The disease was an epidemic cold of a very malignant type; and to this disease, after a short illness, Major Willard fell a victim, at Charlestown, on Monday, the 24th day of April,* 1676, in the seventy-second year of his age.† Increase Mather, in lamenting over the wide-spread desolation caused by this pestilence, — occurring, as it did, during the gloomy period of a war, in which some six hundred persons had fallen a sacrifice, — remarks thus: viz., "There have been many sick and weak, and many have fallen asleep; yea, eminent and useful instruments hath the Lord removed, and made breaches thereby upon divers of the Colonies of New England. Connecticut is deprived of that worthy and public-spirited Governour Winthrop. This Colony of Mattachusetts hath been bereaved of two (viz., Major Willard and Mr. Russell ‡), who, for many years, had approved themselves faithful in the magistracy. And

* Corresponding to May 4, new style.

† John Hull, the Master of the Mint, has the following entry in his diary: viz., "1676, April 25, Major Symon Willard died; a pious, orthodox man." Rev. Peter Hobart, in his diary, dates the death on the 24th, and the burial on the 28th. The record of Charlestown, and the transcript thereof in the clerk's office, Middlesex, are both April 24; and this must be considered the best authority. Hull probably made his mistake in this way: The Major died on the 24th, perhaps at night, and the intelligence was received in Boston the next morning by the ferry-boat; and Master Hull, making up his diary on the 25th, accidentally entered the death as having taken place on that day. Either this was the way, or, like many other diarists, he may have been negligent in making up his record day by day; and so, when bringing it up after an interval of time, greater or less, would very easily fall into a blunder.

‡ Richard Russell, of Charlestown. He died May 14, 1676. He was Speaker of the House for three years; Assistant, sixteen years; and, for a long time, Treasurer of the Colony.

the death of a few such is as much as if thousands had fallen."*

The author of the "New and Further Narrative," before cited, says, "Major Willard died in his bed in peace, though God had honoured him with several signal victories over our enemies in war."

The author of the "True Account," &c., before quoted, also says, in reference to the same time, "We had an epidemical sickness, that hath swept away several worthy gentlemen amongst us, besides many others which God hath rebuked."

Hubbard (pp. 84–5, ed. 1677) states that the soldiers "were visited with sickly distempers, by reason of an epidemical cold at that time prevailing through the country," so that they were released for a time for the recovery of their health. The "sickness and mortality were more than in many years before, depriving them of many worthy and useful persons."

Major Willard was surrounded, probably, by most of his children;† and must have calmly welcomed that repose which was the fitting end of a well-spent life. Of his funeral there is no account, except as to some portion of the military part of it. A force of several hundred soldiers, consisting of three companies of foot, under the command of Captains Sill, Cutler, and Holbrook; and three companies of horse, under the command of Captains Brattle, Prentice, and Henchman (the last being commander of the whole), — were ordered out on Thursday, the twenty-seventh day of April, to range the woods towards Hassanamisco.‡ After receiving their commission

* History of the War with the Indians in New England, June 24, 1675, to Aug. 12, 1676.

† He had a married daughter, Mrs. Sarah Howard, residing in Charlestown at this time. Several of his children under age constituted a part of his family; and his son, Rev. Samuel Willard, who had been driven from his cure in Groton when the town was destroyed, may have been in Charlestown with his wife and children.

‡ Grafton.

and instructions, they "marched for Major Willard's funeral to Charlestown; and from thence to Concord, the place of rendezvous.* The civil attendance, I suppose, corresponded with the miltary parade; for at this time there were great pomp and circumstance at the funerals of persons of any consideration, more especially if they had held high public office.†

It is a great misfortune that our early historical works and obituary discourses are so barren in their delineations of individual character. From what a source of gratification are we shut out! How gladly would we give tomes of theological polemics, the unsatisfying homilies of a former age, — which none read, and few consult, — for personal reminiscences, for sketches of individual life and conversation, of moral and intellectual powers, and for racy criticism upon motives of conduct! We have nothing of the elder day — absolutely nothing — answering to the full biographies and correspondence of our own time. We want a life-like representation of those who shaped the destinies of our early State; a fair view of their virtues, peculiarities, and foibles; the pleasant passages and clouded scenes in their eventful career through the busy walks of men, — that we may be brought into more immediate and intimate relation with them, even within the circle of their sympathies and affections, the inheritance of one common condition. Instead of this, we find but "lenten entertainment;" and it is seldom, except by incidental mention, by occasional hints, and by induction from a few particulars, that we can gather a meagre aggregate to appease our cravings.

If we are referred to Cotton Mather as an exception to

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* "New and Further Narrative," &c. The author of this "Narrative" has mistaken the date. Hubbard (p. 84, ed. 1677) states that the troops "were sent out April 27th." This corresponds with the date of the Major's funeral, as recorded in the records of the town of Charlestown.

† The fact of an imposing military array at the obsequies of Major Willard is inconsistent with the truth of Dr. Fiske's statement, and may be adduced as a further argument against it.

these remarks, it may be observed that his chief object was to portray the theological and religious element in his biographical sketches, which are almost ever rose-colored, and fragrant with but one odor. He gives us comparatively little of the private, interior man, away from creeds and dogmas. With regard to himself, indeed, he has afforded us some means of forming a judgment, by transmitting in his diary a record of his own weaknesses and resentments, which place him in a worse light before posterity than is just to whatever there was of truthfulness in his character. On the other hand, Winthrop, — a great actor in almost all that he describes, — while affording glimpses of other persons, pleasantly reveals *himself* in his "History of New England." There is no set purpose leading to this end; but we "find directions out" by incidental touches that appear here and there amid the grave matters of his narrative, — without affectation or self-seeking, — and which furnish us with the means of estimating aright the good qualities of his mind and heart.*

Thus circumstanced, by reason of the poverty of early memorials, I cannot be expected to give a nice and thorough delineation of the character of Major Willard. But there are some points which stand out with sufficient prominence to be noticed.

He was a stalwart Puritan of the elder day. And here it should be mentioned, that, at the time he flourished, public sentiment as well as positive law required conformity in matters of religious faith and worship. Not until he had been in the public service for many years could any but professed believers, orthodox in life and conversation accord-

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* In the next century, Pemberton, in his discourse on the death of Rev. Samuel Willard, the son (1707), speaks of the father as "a sage patriot in our Israel, whose wisdom assigned him a seat at the Council Board, and his military skill and martial spirit entitled him to the chief place in the field." And Prince, in his discourse on the death of Secretary Josiah Willard (1756), son of the Rev. Samuel Willard, speaks of the grandfather as "one of the religious and couragious councillors of the ancient Massachusetts Colony."

ing to the standard of the time, be permitted to hold office, either civil or military. Here, indeed, was a wide opportunity for that hypocrisy which might mislead many, and gain its own private ends while doing apparent service to the Commonwealth. But the most specious pretences and the most thorough disguises could not last for a lifetime, deceiving the society in which the individual was more immediately versed, and the community of which he was a member. Falsity of character has so many salient points, touches so many diversities of interests, that the man is finally marked. Even should he continue to hold up his head through a long career, and descend to the grave without being utterly exposed, he moves along in life with a weight of suspicion ever accumulating, and pressing upon his reputation, till he takes that place in history which he he has himself prepared.

The subject of this sketch was a conscientious, religious man, — a character out of which all good proceeds. Contemporaneous history and his own correspondence bear uniform and explicit testimony, that he possessed strong religious convictions, a devout, humble, and earnest spirit. This was the well-spring of his real life, — the fountain whence the waters from their hidden sources gushed forth in a pure and fertilizing stream. Of course, we should never find him in the field of expediency, pandering to popular impulse, and paltering with his sense of right; but should find him exercising important trusts with honor, integrity, and long-continued public confidence, — find him bearing his full part as a wise counsellor through eventful periods in the time of the English Commonwealth, and in the more perilous years under Charles II.

He was a man of sound and enlightened understanding, of discreet wisdom, or he could not have challenged and received that entire and unwavering regard which he enjoyed. He was a man of brave and enduring spirit; not boastful, but possessing that true courage which belongs to a modest and generous nature, and is ready at the call of

duty to sacrifice ease and comfort, yea, life itself, in defence of the public weal. A pleasant illustration of this modest bravery of spirit is furnished in one of his letters already quoted, — one of those instances apparently of little moment at the time, but by which the man unconsciously reveals himself to after-generations for good or evil. In the dark period of Philip's war, when the hand of age was upon him, — while opposing the design of the Governor and Council to withdraw the men from under his command for the futile purpose of making an incursion upon the northern Indians, and thus leave the frontier of Middlesex an inviting prey to the enemy, — sensitive lest his motives should be misunderstood, he could say without presumption, but confident as a Christian soldier in his own readiness to meet any peril, "You haply may think we are afraid. We will not boast thereabout; but we dare say our lives are not dear unto us in any way that God shall call us to."*

Early called into the public service, disciplined by the teachings of toil, deprivation, and varied experience, with his character and capacity well understood and valued, it was a natural sequence that he should retain his hold upon the confidence and affection of an enlightened community, throughout all the emergencies of a new State, in important trusts as legislator, judge, and military commander, until his death. This, as we have seen, was no light or easy service. It engrossed, doubtless, a large part of his time and attention; certainly so after he was called to the council in 1654, and thence until 1676. It took him away from his family, from the cultivation of his estate, and from special attention to his private interests. He must be present at every session of the General Court, at every separate meeting of the Governor and Council, at the terms of the Court of Assistants, and of the County Court. From 1634

* He proved this at Brookfield. Let the reader turn back, and read in this connection the simple but interesting narrative by Wheeler, especially that part which relates to the arrival of Major Willard and his company on the night of the 24th of August, when it was impossible to distinguish friend from foe; *ante*, pp. 246–9.

to 1636, the sessions of the General Court were quarterly, and afterwards semi-annually. The meetings of the Governor and Council were to be held monthly, according to the provision of the charter. As a judicial tribunal, their terms were quarterly. The Major attended the County Court in Middlesex probably between seventy and eighty terms. He first appeared as a judge at Charlestown, Nov. 28, 1654; and last at Cambridge, April 4, 1676, shortly before his death.* Add to this the numerous meetings of committees in and out of legislative sessions; and, in military matters, the time necessarily occupied in attending to the minute and detailed provisions of the laws in the organization, equipment, discipline, and mustering — first of his company, and afterwards of his regiment — for a period of forty years.

It would be pleasant to those derived from Major Willard to possess a more intimate acquaintance with his private life in his daily walk at home, amid home-scenes. But direct knowledge is shut out. His son Samuel had the opportunity to introduce us to these scenes, and the ability to sketch them eminently well; and there were grandsons competent to the task, though less favorably situated. We can only regret that this son followed the habit of that day.

While but few rays of light penetrate the intervening shadows of centuries, and reach the present age, we have a point of departure in the well-known fact, that Major Willard was scrupulously religious in his character. He would then be careful to train up his children in right paths.† He would do so from conviction, and the temper of the times would require it as a positive obligation; and the

* Vols. i. and iii. of the County-Court Records show his presence at forty-one terms. Vol. i. ends with October Term, 1663; and vol. iii. begins with October, 1671. The second volume, covering eight years (1663–71), having been burnt, we can only approximate the number of terms he was present, and place it at thirty.

† He brought up a large family of children; all of whom, I believe, served their day faithfully, and several were somewhat distinguished in public service.

instructions of Bulkeley, of Concord, and Rowlandson, of Lancaster, would inculcate it as a duty.

With regard to the affections, I have thought that the rigid spirit existing in Willard's day was somewhat chastened in his own family by his individual temperament. I claim this for him. I take pleasure in the belief, that he possessed a mild and affectionate nature. Contemporaneous history seems to show this in his friendly bearing toward the Indians; in the expressions of loving regard by others, so frequently recurring in the mention of him; by his neighbors; by a whole town, — small, indeed, but harmonious in their wish that he should come in and help them. When he left Brookfield, he returned "to his house and dear relations at Groaton," says Wheeler. A simple expression used by an old friend; but one that reveals tender ties of family and kindred, a yearning for their enjoyment at home. Fathers are often said, and truly, to live again in their children; and traits of character descend through several generations, distinctly brought out in many instances, and in others still somewhat prominent, but modified by circumstances. Thus we may suppose that Samuel, the most distinguished son of his father, inherited that mildness, as well as firmness and noble independence, which universal testimony concedes to him. I may add, that so far as my observation extends, and so far as we can predicate any quality as characteristic of an entire *gens*, this temperament belongs to the present generations of the family.

How early Major Willard imbibed the sentiments of the Puritans, or whether he derived them from his father, I have no means of knowing. Puritanism, as I have before remarked, existed in the church of England in the reign of Elizabeth; and was a strongly marked, distinctive feature in that church in the reign of James I., when it comprised no small part of the thoughtful, earnest, considerate religious mind.

CHAPTER XIII.

LIFE AND TIMES OF SIMON WILLARD.

(Continued.)

As Major Willard was so intimately versed in all that constituted the growing life of the Colony, — from the early germ upon the hardy stock to the full and mature fruit which is embraced in the period from 1634 to 1676, — a very brief review of the leading historical events occurring in the Colony during the forty-two years of his American life may not be without interest.

In the spring of 1634, when he first landed upon the shores of the Bay, the only incorporated towns in Massachusetts were Salem, Charlestown, Medford, Boston, Cambridge, Watertown, Roxbury, and Dorchester; containing, in all, but a few thousand inhabitants, — the primary organization, rather than the confirmed substance, of a Commonwealth.

On the very week of his arrival, there were highly important proceedings at the General Court of Elections. The assistants had thus far enjoyed almost exclusive possession of the legislative and executive functions of the government; but the freemen, becoming too numerous to attend the court at the annual election, deputed a certain number of their fellows in each town to appear in their behalf, and act as their representatives. As a constituent part of the General Court, these representatives of the freemen claimed the right to participate equally with the assistants in the enactment of laws, disposal of lands, &c. They further claimed the full power and voices of all the freemen, and "to deal in all

other affairs of the Commonwealth wherein the freemen have to do, — the matter of election of magistrates and other officers only excepted, — wherein every freeman is to give his own voice." The freemen carried their point; and thus, by a single effort, established a House of Representatives, — called "Deputies" under the old charter, — and perfected a wise and safe legislative organization of inestimable value for the protection of public and private liberty, — an organization that has been preserved without interruption to the present day, save during the successive administrations of Dudley and Andrews from 1686 to 1689.

At the same court, the question first arose touching the "negative voice" of the assistants. The assistants and deputies were then sitting in the same room; and the controversy was decided for the time, mainly through the influence of the elders, in favor of the assistants. The struggle was again renewed in 1644; and, the assistants still maintaining their claim, the deputies carried a vote, that the two houses should sit apart. Thus the "negative voice" of either branch upon the action of the other was finally established.

In 1636, the settlement of Connecticut Colony was undertaken by an emigration from Massachusetts: that of New-Haven Colony followed the next year. In 1636, also, the Antinomian controversy shook the Colony to its very centre; imbittering the relations of private life, and resulting in the defeat of the Antinomian party, with the infliction of fines and banishment.

The same year witnessed that treaty between Massachusetts and the powerful tribe of the Narraganset Indians, which was the means of severing the latter, through inveterate hereditary hate, from that other formidable tribe, the Pequots. The union of these tribes in combined hostility to the English, had it been effected according to the urgent entreaties of the sagacious Pequots, would have placed the Colony in imminent peril, and might have resulted in its entire destruction. The year 1637 witnessed the effect of

that treaty in the terrible defeat of the Pequots, and their utter subversion as a distinct tribe. This was the most warlike and dreaded, if not the most numerous, tribe within the borders of New England.

In 1638, three thousand persons arrived in the Colony; being double the number that came over in the first fleet. During the same year, by the bequest of that glorious man, John Harvard, the college bearing his name was established upon a firm basis; and thence, through every subsequent period of our history, continued to be, and still is, the great nursing mother — the *magna parens frugum* — in Church and Commonwealth.

The year 1641 was one of great peril to the very existence of the Colony. Emigration having ceased in a great measure, and many of the inhabitants having become discouraged with regard to the productive qualities of the soil, sundry of the benefactors to the Colony residing in England advised a removal to another clime. Even that old and tried friend, Lord Say and Seal, in a letter to Governor Winthrop, took occasion to remark, that New England "was a place appointed for a present refuge only; and, a better place being now found out, they ought all to remove there."* The first company which sailed for the "better place" discovered, on reaching Providence, that the Spaniards had taken possession of the island. The English captain having been slain by a shot from the fort, the ship's company and the adventurers were glad enough to weigh anchor, and make their escape to despised Massachusetts. In the providence of God, Massachusetts gained strength from the very circumstance that seemed to threaten her ruin; so that, when Cromwell came to power, and renewed the attempt, — first in favor of Ireland, his then recent conquest; and afterwards in favor of the Island of Jamaica, which he had subsequently subdued, — she gave a prompt and resolute refusal. Cromwell had the Jamaica emigration very much at heart:

* This "better place" was the Bahama Islands!

but the people here were becoming more bound to the soil; while a new generation, native-born, was ripening into manhood and womanhood, possessing, of course, those strong local attachments which could hardly be predicated of the early comers.

The other great event in 1641 was the incorporation of the New-Hampshire towns, by their own request, under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, with the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges.*

The project for a confederation between the Colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, which had been under discussion through several years, was consummated in 1643. It added strength to Massachusetts; but was of vastly greater importance to Plymouth (it saved her in Philip's war), and was vital to the very existence of Connecticut and New Haven. It continued in force, with some modifications, for forty-three years, and proved to be a tower of strength in every public exigency. It was the germ of the proposed confederation of 1754, the confederation of the Revolution, and the present Constitution of the Union.

The year 1651 was noted for the passage of the earliest Navigation Act, — a favorite measure with Cromwell and the Parliament. It prohibited the plantations from receiving or exporting any European commodities, except in English-built ships navigated by Englishmen. This was the basis of the celebrated Navigation Act of Charles II.; which, from the time of its enactment until the American Revolution, was a sore trouble to the Colonies, especially those of New England, and more particularly to Massachusetts, the most commercial of them all. No hardships,

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* As this request was wholly voluntary on the part of the New-Hampshire towns, it added strength to the claim of Massachusetts. She believed that these towns were within her territorial limits, according to her interpretation of the charter; and was willing enough to vindicate to herself the whole authority of government. The authority was wisely exercised, and the towns afterwards expressed their gratitude. — *Ante*, p. 164, note.

however, were experienced by the New-England Colonies under Cromwell's Navigation Act; but, on the contrary, during the whole period of the English Commonwealth, they enjoyed the privilege of unrestricted trade in their own vessels, — a very natural consequence of the sympathy between the Puritans and the Protector.

In 1652, Massachusetts claimed jurisdiction over Maine by the same construction of her patent that she had urged in the case of New Hampshire. Many of the inhabitants submitted readily to her jurisdiction, for they were in a state of great trouble and confusion; while her superior power, in connection with the fact that the proprietors of Maine had virtually abandoned their right for the time, soon induced all the inhabitants to yield quietly. The liberties of the people were preserved; and, by a wise policy exercised in their behalf, they were admitted to the rights of freemen simply upon taking the oath, — a privilege in Massachusetts confined to those who were members of some church in regular standing.

In the same year, the Colony established a mint, where, during thirty years, large sums of money were coined. This mint, in the opinion of the General Court, had become a necessity, in order to prevent frauds in money; there being a great quantity of bullion imported in the way of trade, and in other ways. Though the inconveniences of their condition were aggravated by reason of the confused state of England, the establishment of a mint was a very bold act, — a palpable invasion of sovereign prerogative. But necessity seemed to justify what it required; and the act passed without question or notice throughout the protectorate, and during the greater part of the reign of Charles II. It was made one of the charges against Massachusetts, when the charter was brought into question; but, according to Hutchinson, no great stress was laid upon it. It seems to have been a very beneficial proceeding, and of general convenience; and this, probably, was the reason of its being tolerated for so long a time. It may well stand as a wise

and sagacious measure, though very presumptuous in its inception and continuance. Randolph, ever on the alert to find fault with Massachusetts, and to bring her into difficulty with the government at home, says, that, "as a mark of sovereignty, they coin money stamped with the inscription 'Mattachusetts,' and a tree in the centre, on the one side; and 'New England,' with the year 1652, and the value of the piece, on the reverse. . . . All the money is stamped with these figures, '1652;' that year being the era of the Commonwealth wherein they erected themselves into a free State, enlarged their dominions, subjected the adjacent Colonies under their obedience, and summoned deputies to sit in the General Court; which year is still commemorated on their coin." *

No other Colony ventured upon the experiment at this time; and none other subsequently, except Maryland, in 1662; and her act was with the concurrence of Lord Baltimore, the proprietary.†

In 1662, a second synod was held, by direction of the General Court, in order to determine who are the subjects of baptism; and whether, according to the word of God, there ought to be a consociation of churches; and, if so, what should be the manner of it. The synod gave their opinion in favor of the consociation, which never found favor in Massachusetts; and, as to baptism, determined, among other things, that "children of such as made a public profession of their faith,—not scandalous in life, and solemnly owning the

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* Hutchinson's "Collection of Papers," p. 480. Dr. Robertson, in his History of America, considers this coining of money as a very distinct usurpation of the prerogative. Theoretically, the act was of this character; but such was not its design. It must be confessed, however, that Massachusetts was not very nice on these points. She had a great work to perform,—a Commonwealth to build up.

Randolph, and, after him, the usually accurate Hutchinson, mistake when they state that all the money was stamped "1652." — *Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections*, vol. xii. p. 274.

† Hutchinson errs in saying that Massachusetts was the only Colony. Dr. Holmes quotes Chalmers in proof that Maryland passed a law in 1662 establishing a mint, and that money was actually coined there.

covenant before the church, although not in full communion, — might be admitted to baptism. It was objected to this declaration, that its tendency would be to affect the purity of the church, and lower the high standard to which it had attained. But the result of the synod, though very violently opposed, found favor, at least in Massachusetts, and has been the prevailing sentiment in the Congregational church to the present time.* This was the origin of the famous half-way covenant, so called, by which a child was admitted to baptism when either of the parents complied with the prerequisites mentioned. There are some theologians, even at the present day, who attribute the alleged decline of piety to a departure from the earliest practice of the New-England churches.

In 1669, the Third Church in Boston, long known as the "Old South," was formed by seceders from the First Church, after a severe struggle. The whole Colony was divided into two imbittered parties. The religious, or rather the theological, sentiment of the First Church was disturbed beyond measure by the determination of the synod in relation to the baptism of children. The new church followed the synod in its more liberal views. At this time (1669), Church and State being still intimately united, the vexed question between the two churches came before the council; and, no doubt, was very warmly discussed. The result was, that, of the fourteen magistrates, six were opposed to the "gathering" of the new church, and eight were in favor of it. Major Willard was one of the eight. He probably represented the views of his son, then of Groton, and afterwards of this new church.†

From the time when earnest efforts were made to induce the New-England people to abandon their plantations and

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* In Connecticut it has been directly the other way.

† See Hutchinson's "History of Massachusetts," vol. i.; Wisner's "History of the Old South Church;" Emerson's "History of the First Church;" Hull's "Diary."

remove to foreign lands, no event occurred affecting public liberty until Charles II. sent over his arbitrary commission in 1665. How arbitrary it was, and with what dangerous consequences it was fraught, has been sufficiently considered already; and I will not dwell longer upon the subject. Let it suffice to remark, that, the commissioners being thwarted in every important point, and having left the country in high indignation and with bitter threats of revenge, the people remained at peace, and waxed in prosperity, until the period of Philip's war.

In 1668, Massachusetts regained her authority over Maine. The inhabitants of this Province had remained quietly under the jurisdiction of the Bay, and in the enjoyment of the protection afforded by good government, from the time it was first extended over them until the arrival of the commissioners of Charles in 1664.

The Casco people, in their answer to the king in 1665, seem to express the general sentiment of the inhabitants of the Province. "Against the Massachusetts," they answer, "wee have nothing to say; butt have, by good experience, found the expression of your Majestie verified concerning them, that whereas they have exceeded others in pietie and sobrietie, soe God hath blessed them above others; soe wee haveing had pietie soe countenanced, and justice soe well executed, that wee have found God's blessing in our lawfull callings and endeavours more in one yeare than in severall before or since our late troubles."*

The king, by his letter, had directed that the Province should be restored to Sir Ferdinando Gorges; and when the commissioners, baffled at Boston in their arbitrary endeavors, turned their steps towards Maine in the following year, they attempted to exercise sundry acts of government in that Province, and to withdraw the people from their union with Massachusetts. By the appointment of justices of the peace, and the exercise of other authority in conflict

* Hutchinson's "Collections of Papers," p. 397.

with Massachusetts, they succeeded in disturbing the good order which had prevailed before their advent, and afforded practical demonstration that the inhabitants could not be governed by any power within their own borders, but needed help from abroad. There were two parties at this time in the Province: the one representing, in the germ, the true principle of New-England self-government; and the other, the party of prerogative. The former was by far the more potent and efficient. Some of the principal men requested the General Court to resume the government. "The court," we are told, "always thought it the part of good governors, as well as of good judges, to amplify their jurisdiction;" and, accordingly, did so, with a vigorous hand and determined purpose, unmoved, in the first instance, by the wishes or efforts of the king in behalf of Gorges; and, afterwards, wholly disregarding the king's demand that they should assign the Province to him on their being repaid twelve hundred pounds sterling, — the sum for which they had purchased the Province of Gorges' heirs. Except from 1686 to 1689, they maintained the power thus regained for a century and a half, with great benefit to the Province, and also with benefit to their own material interests.

It was at an early day in our Colonial history, and while Willard was a member of the House of Deputies, that the entire feudal system, with all its appendages, was swept off; and a statute for the distributions of intestate estates was ordained, that has stood secure, as a life-giving principle, in the Commonwealth, preventing long-continued accumulations in few hands, and thereby insuring that comparative equality which is most conducive to the general intelligence and happiness of the community, and to the solidity and permanence of a popular system of government.

I might also instance the restrictions placed on the admission of freemen, — a measure of civil polity, not indeed consistent with the entire liberty of the subject, and not suitable for all conditions, forms, and periods of society; but at the time, and under the circumstances of our early "Common-

wealth," and especially with reference to the relative position of the Colony and the mother-country, to be justified for its wisdom, in imparting strength, vigor, and stability to government in its forming period, when disturbing elements would have been dangerous, if not fatal, to the consolidation of a healthy State.

Willard was in one or the other branch of the government during the whole of the long struggle in relation to appeals. Chalmers, in speaking of Massachusetts, says, complainingly, "She denied appeals from her judgments to the king or to the parliament, because an appeal carries with it an admission of supremacy."* The particular part taken by Willard in this controversy, any more than the part taken by other members of the Colonial government, cannot be known at this late day, in the absence of personal and other narrative; but that he was act and part in stoutly resisting appeals may be considered as certain as that he was a public man. He would see, as the fact was, that the matter of appeal was of great moment to the character and integrity of the Colony; that the allowance of appeals would not only be "an admission of supremacy" as an abstract principle, but would be attended with practical results injurious to the civil polity of the Colony, weakening the authority of government in its forming period, and introducing elements of opposition into the framework of State, fatal perhaps to the great ends for which Massachusetts was founded. The success that attended resistance was commensurate with the resistance offered; influences from abroad were steadily kept out; and Massachusetts, gradually consolidating her strength, became better prepared to sustain herself in the days of adversity which were approaching.†

The next event, large in itself, and larger in its conse-

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* History of the Revolt of the American Colonies, vol. i. p. 88.

† See Lancaster Centennial Address, 1853, pp. 53–58, where this subject is more fully treated.

quences, while Willard was upon the stage of action, and in which he was so intimately versed, in the last year of his life, was Philip's war. He died at the very darkest period of the war, — a few days only after the fall of Wadsworth and his men at Sudbury. The day of success had not begun to dawn, although there was a growing belief, or rather hope, that the Indian power was now on the wane. He died, we must believe, saddened by the prospects of his country, and the heart-rending scenes through which he had passed; but sustained by the strong patriotic heart, and by an humble and firm faith in the good providence of the Almighty, who, in his own time, would bring light out of darkness, joy out of grief, and the assured strength of the Colony out of its present weakness.

We have thus seen, that Major Willard, in his long career, witnessed the infancy, the rapid growth, and the matured strength of Massachusetts. He saw her subjected, in her course, to various vicissitudes and perils, with alternations of hopes and fears; cast down, but never in despair; and ever making progress by the firmness of her principles and her inherent indomitable spirit. He saw her during the whole period of forty-two years, while never a favorite with any of the Stuarts, and with scarcely a gleam of sunshine from the mother-country to cheer her great heart, — except in the time of the protectorate, — with foes without and foes within; suspected, even in her infancy, of attempting to cast off her swaddling-bands, and of aiming at independency; he saw her, with all these encounters and discouragements, quietly pursuing her way; with determined resolution resisting encroachments from every quarter and in every form, according to her strength; watching her opportunity to recover her position, never yielding a principle; preferring rather to break than bend; and when trouble must come, and dark hours settle down upon her path, still relying on her own vigor, with firm trust in God, and full assurance that she would not be forsaken.

As I write chiefly for those who are kindred in blood, I have no apology to make for the historical details in which I have indulged. Indeed, the man and his times were so closely connected that no full and fair view of the man could be given without frequent reference to the numerous and stirring events amid which he lived, pertaining to the well-being of the "Commonwealth."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SIMON WILLARD.

(Continued.)

Before closing with a few remarks concerning Major Willard's family, it only remains to speak of his domestic condition in regard to his estate in Massachusetts, whether acquired by his own industry, or bestowed in acknowledgment of public service.

There is good reason to believe that he brought with him from Horsmonden a handsome patrimony,* enlarged by eight years of business, in his native parish, after his majority. His attention to public concerns in the Colony, for a long series of years, may have seriously interfered with his pecuniary prospects; but the fact that he was extensively engaged in trade, and had a large landed interest, and brought up a family of children more than patriarchal in number, would seem to show very considerable success in his efforts, until Philip's war, somewhat like a modern "financial crisis," brought individual distress and disaster wholly beyond his control.

Soon after his arrival, as we have seen, he made purchases in Cambridge; and, on his removal to Concord, became entitled to a large tract of land in that town, as one of the original proprietors. While residing in Concord, he received a grant of two thousand acres in "Concord Village," so called, — afterwards incorporated as a town, by the name of Acton. This tract was in two farms, so enti-

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* See *ante*, pp. 57–60.

tled; viz., one thousand acres in the north-easterly, and one thousand acres in the south-easterly, part of "Concord Village," except a small portion which was over the line. On the 23d of February, 1659, he conveyed the former parcel to Robert Blood, who married his daughter Elizabeth, in 1653. This was for "her dowry." The latter parcel — of which I find no conveyance — became the property of the company called the "Iron-work Farm."*

The next grant of land was made by the General Court at their session in May, 1657. The record reads, that, "in answer to the motion of Major Simon Willard and Capt. Daniel Gookin in reference to their public service done, the Court doth grant them five hundred acres of land apiece, not prejudicing former grants." In obedience to the order of the General Court, Mr. Thomas Noyes laid out this "loveing grant" — as he terms it — to the Major on both sides of the river Assabet, in the present town of Stow; adjoining the land of Mr. John Alcock on the south-west, pleasantly situated, and of convenient access from the Major's other possessions. The surveyor added twenty-four acres more; "being due," as he states, "to Major Willard

* Shattuck's "Concord," pp. 39–43, 275, 280. This grant was made before 1654; but I have not been able to ascertain the precise year. Perhaps a part of it was conveyed by Tahattawan to Major Willard, "20, 4, 1642;" and may be the same that is referred to in a deed of confirmation made by that Sagamore's son to Blood, in the year 1684. [Middlesex Registry of Deeds, vol. xii. folio 110.] Concord claimed this land, and Mr. and Mrs. Blood experienced difficulties in perfecting their right and title. In their petition to the General Court, in May, 1683, they state that they had been in quiet possession of these premises nearly twenty years after they were laid out. The court gave them liberty to produce their evidences of the grant of the one thousand acres at the next October session. The whole history of the case is contained in vol. xxxix. of the Massachusetts Archives, pp. 858–866. The controversy was not finally settled until about the year 1710. The Major's deed, Feb. 23, 1659, was not recorded until November, 1754; nearly *ninety-six* years after it was executed. The following releases and confirmations to the Major's grantee were indorsed upon the original deed: viz., 1. Samuel, the eldest grandson of the Major, in 1702. 2. Deacon Simon Willard, of Salem, a son of the Major, in 1703; and Rev. Samuel Willard, of Boston, another son, about the same time. Also, 3. his widow; then living, who had intermarried with Mr. Noyes, of Sudbury. The widow and the two sons, from their own personal knowledge and recollection, verify the deed as being in the handwriting of Major Willard, and also as being his free gift.

for land he wanted at Nannajcoyjcus."* The principal part of this valuable estate became the property of Deacon Simon Willard, of Salem; who sold it, in successive parcels, — 1697–1703, — to Nathaniel Hapgood, of Stow.

Major Willard's dealings with the Indians brought them in debt to him, as we shall see in the sequel. One of these debts was the occasion of the Nonaicoicus grant. It happened thus, according to the entry in the records of the General Court at their May Session, 1658; viz.: —

"In answer to the petition† of Major Simon Willard, the court judgeth it meet to grant his request; viz., a farm of five hundred acres on the south side of the river that runneth from Nashaway to Merrimack, between Lancaster and Groton; and is in satisfaction of a debt of forty-four pounds John, Sagamore of Patucket, doth owe to him; provided he make over all his right, title, and interest in the execution obtained against the said Sagamore to the country; which was done."

At the adjournment of October Session, 1659, Noyes returned his survey of the farm, as "for the most part on the east side of Groton River," between Lancaster and Groton, "at the place which is called by the Indians Nanajcoyijcus, beginning at the great river-side about one hundred rods to the northward of Nanajcoyijcus Brook," &c., &c. This return was accepted, on the condition that thirty acres should be left out on the north-easterly side of the river, and be taken in on some other part of the lines; with the further condition limiting the quantity of meadow-land to

* Nonaicoicus, as we shall see in the following paragraph in the text, was granted in 1658, and surveyed in 1659. The survey of the Assabet grant was returned in 1662. This accounts for the mention of Nonaicoicus, a later grant, in the survey of Assabet.

† I have not found this petition on file. The debt was recovered at the County Court in Middlesex, June, 1657. The previous petition, which resulted in the Assabet grant, I think is not on file.

one hundred acres. Judging from this survey, the whole grant was in one parcel; but the survey of Jonathan Danforth, — June 7, 1681, — which gives metes and bounds and points of compass, describes it in two parcels; the one containing four hundred and fifty acres, and the other lying "S. S. east from the farm, or from the house-plot on this farm, at about a mile distance," containing fifty acres.

Danforth's survey also embraced seventy acres more, "which lyeth south from the old farm, and joyning to it." I think that this last parcel was granted to Major Willard after his removal to Groton, and was no part of the General Court's grant. He conveyed one-quarter part of the Nonaicoicus grant to his son Henry, in view of his marriage, July 16, 1674; and, in the following year, another quarter to his son Simon. These sons afterwards reconveyed their respective interests to their mother, then a widow, and administratrix upon her husband's estate. In 1679, Mrs. Willard transferred the four hundred and fifty acres, and the fifty acres, to the heirs of Hezekiah Usher, in payment of a debt due from the estate of £272. 2s. 3d., and for a further consideration of £60. Three-fourths of this land was vested by Mrs. Willard's deed in Hezekiah Usher, the son; and one-fourth in Samuel Nowell, of Boston, in right of his wife, a daughter of Hezekiah Usher, sen. These same parcels were conveyed by Usher, jun., — perhaps surviving his sister without heirs [?], — to Jonathan Tyng, of Dunstable, in trust for his son John, a grandson of Usher, sen., May 11, 1687.* On the 3d of December, 1713, Jonathan Tyng, in his own name, conveyed the Nonaicoicus Farm to William Farwell and John Sollendine, of the town of Dunstable. He describes it as containing by estimation five hundred and twenty acres; viz., four hundred and fifty

* He conveyed, also, a hundred acres purchased of Henry Willard, June 20, 34 Charles II., on the south side of the Nonaicoicus Farm, and adjoining it. This was a grant made by the town of Groton to Henry Willard; not far from the time, probably, that the town granted the seventy acres to his father.

acres, and seventy acres on the south side adjoining, and also the outlot of fifty acres to be considered as part of the farm and of the conveyed premises.

I presume that the tract usually known by the name of the "Nonaicoicus Farm" embraces, in common understanding, the lot of four hundred and fifty acres alone. Here Major Willard built a dwelling-house, and here he resided with his family probably from the time of his removal to Groton until the town was destroyed, — his being the first house that was burnt.

A plan of Danforth's survey, drawn upon parchment, is still in existence, the property of a citizen of Groton. It gives the position of Major Willard's house, the course of Nashaway River, and Nonaicoicus Brook; but these courses are laid down very inaccurately.* This "Nonaicoicus Farm" — at a distance from any village, and, until recently, having but few inhabitants — is now a very valuable territory, in the course of rapid development in population and wealth. It is an important point in our extended net-work of railroads. The station-house at "Groton Junction" is upon this land, and it is the centre of a growing business.

Captain Thomas Marshall, of Lynn, on Nov. 20, 1659, became the purchaser of Major Willard's mansion-house, homestead, and out-lands in Concord (*ante*, p. 236).†

His residence at Lancaster — one of the finest situations in that pleasant town, whether for soil, or for beauty of

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* The first highway from Groton to Lancaster was laid out soon after the first settlement of Groton. Of this there is no record. Mr. Abel Davis found traces of this road a few years since upon his land, near the mouth of Nonaicoicus Brook. — *Butler's History of Groton*, p. 47. In speaking of the garrisoned houses in Groton in 1692, Mr. Butler mentions one "at Mr. Hezekiah Usher's farm" (Samuel Bennett, ——— Bennett, three soldiers — five men); and states that its "location" is not known, but inclines to the opinion that it was in that part of Groton now included in Littleton. It was, in fact, the Nonaicoicus Farm, which then belonged to the Usher family.

† Marshall sold to "Henry Woodes," as there mentioned. "Woodes" is the name in the deed; but the true orthography is "Woodhouse."

scenery in hill, dale, *intervale*, and river — has already been mentioned (*ante*, p. 237). His purchase was from Master John Tinker,* who had been *the* leading man in town during the few years of his residence, and the only man up to that time — saving worthy Master Rowlandson — who rejoiced in this prefix to his name.† This estate, with its boundaries as given in the Proprietors' Records, is quaintly described as that which "Master John Tinker" bought of Richard Smith; "it being first a home-lot given by those who first had to do with the place to Goodman Waters; and he built a house upon it (*ante*, p. 237), and sold it to Goodman Hall, whose wife sold it to Richard Smith; the same Goodman Hall being in England, and sending for his wife," &c. This estate was afterwards called "Major Willard's home-lot." After his removal to Groton, he conveyed it to his son-in-law, Cyprian Stevens, of Lancaster, who married his daughter Mary (the second of that name) in January, 1671. This was intended for Mrs. Stevens's dowry.‡

For his second division of upland, to the right of Master John Tinker, he received the "Still River Farm" in the easterly part of the town,§ comprising in the whole more

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* Master Tinker was a man of good education, and a very neat penman. He did not "hold it, as our statists do, a baseness to write fair." The remnants of his records show to great advantage. He removed from Lancaster to "Pequid," as the record states, in 1659; that is, to New London, on the Thames in Connecticut, which was in the Pequot country. He was a man of very good consideration while in the Massachusetts. In Connecticut he was more distinguished, having been made one of the "assistants" at New London, to "hold courts" there for the year. He was also a representative in the General Assembly from that town. "He was a gentleman of distinction at New London and throughout the Colony. He died in 1662." — *Hinman*, pp. 82, 164.

† The settlers in the first generation were very punctilious upon this point. The line of demarcation between "master" and "goodman" was broad and well-defined, and, in fact, continued so in a great measure during the old charter.

‡ Mr. and Mrs. Stevens were the grandparents of Captain Phineas Stevens, an officer highly distinguished for his bravery and conduct in the old French war. In early life (1723), he was taken captive by the Indians at Rutland, and carried to Canada. He was redeemed the following year.

§ Now the westerly part of the town of Harvard.

than three hundred acres. This is a fertile and beautiful tract of land, overlooking the valley of the Nashaway River, with the Wachusett for a boundary on the west, and presenting a lovely picture, hardly exceeded in the good old Commonwealth.

He also had a house-lot of twenty acres on the west side of the north branch of the river in Lancaster, which he purchased of "Master John Tinker," and sold, with other lands, in April, 1670, to Daniel Hudson, who not long before had moved from Watertown to Lancaster.

In addition to the foregoing, there were other tracts of upland, *intervale*, and meadow, amounting to several hundred acres, which it is not necessary to describe.

According to the inventory, he died possessed of fifteen hundred and twenty-one acres* of real estate, besides "commons and woodland, with some which is not yet laid out." The value of the real estate is not given. The personal estate was valued at £382. 7s., including £300 sterling of "Indian debts due on book."

And there was due from his estate, —

"To Mr. Usher†	£273	0	0
To Mr. Cutler	14	0	0
To Mr. Clarke	2	10	3
To Deacon Merriam	5	0	0
To Goodman Chevers	1	19	9
	£296	10	0"

Added by Mrs. Willard in money received of the country in country pay, £41. 1s. 2d.

This inventory has no signature. It is indorsed, "Major Willard's Inventory, 1676," &c. But the County-Court

* This is an under-statement as to Assabet and Nonaicoicus. A more exact inventory would have given somewhat over eighteen hundred acres, exclusive of "commons and woodland, with some which is not yet laid out."

† The debt to Mr. Usher accrued from goods purchased of him, and sold by Willard to the Indians, by permission of the General Court. Philip's war wiped off the debt due from the Indians, but not that due to Usher.

record shows that it was presented at court by his widow, Mary Willard, and his son, the Rev. Samuel Willard, on the 20th of June, 1676, — it being the time when joint administration was granted to them. The latter appeared in court, Oct. 2, 1677, and stated that he had not given bond, or otherwise meddled with any part of the estate, and prayed "that he might be freed from the trust." The request was granted on condition that his mother would consent. Whether she did so or not does not appear upon the record; but, in fact, she was afterwards alone in the administration.

At the request of Madam Willard, preferred at the April Term of the County Court in 1678, Captain Thomas Brattle, Captain Thomas Henchman, and Mr. John Hayward, were empowered to examine the claims upon the estate, "and to adjust all accounts between the widow and the creditors in reference thereto."

It is somewhat remarkable, that the inventory is the only paper on the probate files connected with the administration, and that the County-Court records contain nothing touching the settlement of the estate. It must have been owing to the gloomy state of the times when Major Willard died, to the desertion for several years of Lancaster and Groton, — where the principal part of his real estate lay, — and to the troubled condition of the family.

There was no debt of any amount due from the estate, except the one to Usher's heirs; which was liquidated in June, 1679, by a conveyance of Nonaicoicus, on leave obtained from the General Court at their session in May preceding, as before mentioned.

The deed from Madam Willard to Usher and Nowell shows the consideration to have been the debt	£272	2	3
And paid in addition thereto	60	0	0
	£332	2	3

At this period — indeed from 1652, when the mint was established — the reckoning is to be understood as "lawful money;" and this sum would amount to $1,107.05, or $2.21 and a fraction per acre	$1,107.05
The remainder of the real estate, — about one thousand three hundred acres, — at the same valuation, would be (exclusive of commons, woodland, &c.)	2,873.00
Add personal estate, £82. 0s. 7d.	373.57
Indian debts, £300 sterling, at $4.44 . . .	1,332,00
	$5,685.62
It will appear by Madam Willard's petition in 1681, that her husband estimated his losses by the burning of his buildings at Groton and Lancaster, and by all other mischiefs, expenses, and extraordinary charges, at £1,000	3,333.33⅓
And debts due from the Indians at £500, instead of £300 (of lawful money)	666.66⅔
	$9,685.62

Had his full estate been realized (excluding commons and woodland, &c.), it would have amounted to about $8,642 after the payment of debts; or, in present value, nearly double this sum. The whole amount of land he owned at various times was between four and five thousand acres, exclusive of his right to subsequent divisions in Lancaster. The thirteen hundred acres remaining at his death would give but a moderate-sized farm to each of his children, twelve of whom were living at that time, — six of them under age. The youngest was in his seventh year. But for the war and its disasters, they would have been in the enjoyment of comfortable estates, according to the estimate of that period. There was some division of the estate between the heirs, as appears by an expression in one of the deeds; but when made, or to what extent, I do not know. The fourth son, Henry, became possessed of the choice farm

at "Still River" by purchase from the widow and heirs. Some portions of this estate are still owned by his descendants.

The serious diminution of Major Willard's property, by reason of the war, bore heavily upon the family, — the younger members of which needed a father's exertions for their support and education. The widow seems to have struggled on without complaint for several years, and to have sustained her condition with fortitude; making no appeal in the mean time to the General Court for any compensation, however inadequate, for her husband's sacrifices in the public service, until May Session, 1679; when, in answer to her petition, "the court judgeth it meet to grant the petitioner's request; provided that all the lands claimed by the sons of the petitioner be reserved, and not disposed of."*

After a lapse of five years, the widowed mother set forth her griefs and sufferings in a simple and touching appeal to the General Court.† She petitioned "in behalf of six of her younger children;" stating that her husband "suffered deeply by the late Indian war . . . in the burning of all his buildings and fences, &c., both at Groton and Lancaster, and by all other mischiefs, expenses, and extraordinary charges all along incident; amounting in his judgment, often expressed by him before his death, to *a thousand pounds loss:* which your petitioner," she adds, "since her said husband's death [especially in behalf of her children], feels the woful effects of to this day." She then speaks of his dealing with the Indians many years before, and the credits he gave to "the Indians beyond Nashaway," — which the nature of the trade rendered unavoidable, — "so that they remained *above five hundred pounds* in his debt," and were only able to pay in lands, which they tendered to him; "and for which he had prepared a petition to be presented to the

* This petition is not on file. The court's answer leads to the inference that it referred to a grant of land.

† May Session, 1681. She was then the wife of Deacon Joseph Noyes, of Sudbury. They were married July 14, 1680.

General Court in May, 1675, for their allowance, before he proceeded with them, — which is herewith all presented;" that it was not presented on account of the country's troubles, the Indian war the next month, "and his own death happening within less than one year after that;" nor by the petitioner since, "by reason of the *manifold griefs*, *hurries*, *removings*, *tossings to and fro*, *distractions*, *discouragements*, *various sorrows and afflictions*, your petitioner hath met withal, — she being necessitated unto all her losses in the burning time of the war, as aforesaid; since that to sell and make over all her lands at Groton for the payment of her husband's debts for those goods which he had taken up and paid away to the Indians, for which they remain to this day indebted to your petitioner as aforesaid, to the ruin of her six younger children, to whom she hath little [left] to help them withall, except this Honor^d^ court be pleased to grant relief unto them out of the Indian lands." She concludes her petition by praying for a grant of land to make up in some measure for her husband's losses, "and for the relief especially of her six younger poor fatherless children in their deplorable condition, some of them also being very young," &c.

The court, without hesitation, passed a vote making a provision which might be construed into a full acknowledgment of obligation, but was not, I should suppose, an entire remuneration. The terms of the grant were, "One thousand acres of land, in any free place beyond Nashaway River, . . . for the six youngest children of the late honored Major Symon Willard; . . . to remain undisposed of until all the children aboue mentioned atayne to the age of one and twenty yeares old."

This land is described as situate in the Indian country, at a place called "Pahamogessett" or Pumangossett, . . . "ten or twelve miles beyond Wachusett, and lying southward from that hill by the new road lately marked to Hadley; which road runneth through some part of it." After it was surveyed, the Indian title was extinguished by the deed of

conveyance made by Thomas Dublett and his wife Sarah — daughter of "Mr. John Sagamore, all Indians of Nashoba, and sometime of Groton" — to the six younger children.* By purchase from these children,† their brother, Henry Willard, became the sole owner of this land; and his widow conveyed it to Judge Sewall in 1702. It was again surveyed; and, in 1715, Sewall's title was confirmed by the General Court. This land was within the limits of the town of Rutland, in the county of Worcester, beyond the confines of settlement and civilization, and remained an unbroken wilderness for more than thirty years from the time of the first grant.

I have now mentioned, so far as I know, all the landed estate which was the property of Major Willard, as well as that which was bestowed upon his six younger children in answer to their mother's petition. In the year 1686 (Dec. 22), the whole tract of land — afterwards the township of Rutland — was conveyed by the Indian proprietors or claimants — Indians of Pennecook, Natick, and Wamesit — to Henry and Benjamin, sons of Major Willard; Cyprian Stevens, his son-in-law; Joseph Rowlandson, son of the former minister of Lancaster; and Joseph Foster, of Billerica. On the petition of the sons and grandsons of Major Willard in February, 1714, this land — exclusive of the Sewall tract of one thousand acres — was confirmed to his children, and their legal representatives and their associates, by an Act of the General Court. On the 14th of April following, Foster, Stevens, the assignees of Rowlandson's heirs, the surviving children of Major Willard, and the heirs of the deceased children, join in a deed in which they recite the grant made to them and their associates of this tract of land, westward of Lancaster, and "near the Wachusett Hills, so called, containing twelve miles square, by the name of Rutland." They then declare that they have associated with them in the grant Hon. William Tailer,

* March 6, 1684. Middlesex Registry of Deeds, vol. x. fol. 342. † Ibid., fol. 338.

Esq., of Dorchester ; Penn Townsend, Paul Dudley, Addington Davenport, Adam Winthrop, Thomas Hutchinson, Esqrs. ; Thomas Fitch, merchant ; John White, gentleman, — all of Boston ; Thomas How, Esq., of Marlborough ; Jno. Chandler, Esq., of Woodstock ; William Dudley, Esq., of Roxbury ; John Farnsworth, of Groton, yeoman ; the children and heirs of Peter Bulkeley, late of Concord, deceased, in right of said Peter ; Moses Parker, of Chelmsford, husbandman ; and Jacob Stevens, of Stow, yeoman. The land was then divided into shares.

The deed was executed by three of the four surviving sons of Major Willard, by his surviving daughter with her husband, and by most of the heirs of the deceased children.*

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* This land, as I have stated, was purchased by Henry and Benjamin Willard (two only of the eight sons of Major Willard then living), Cyprian Stevens, Joseph Rowlandson, and Joseph Foster, in 1686. Why this purchase was confirmed by the General Court to all the children, or their legal representatives, does not appear. The purchase from the Indians would need confirmation; but the confirmation extended to persons not parties to the original purchase. The deed of April, 1714, was not executed by Joseph, the seventh son; nor by the heirs of Rev. Samuel, who was the second son. But their title was undoubtedly considered good. I find a subsequent conveyance of the whole of Joseph's share, and two-tenths of Samuel's. Perhaps a careful examination of the records would show conveyances of the remaining eight-tenths.

CHAPTER XV.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SIMON WILLARD.

(Continued.)

Major Willard was thrice married. I have not the date of any of the marriages; or of the death of any of the wives, except the last. His first marriage, as I have mentioned early in this Memoir, was with Mary Sharpe, of Horsmonden, before they left England. The Rev. Dr. Willard makes the following statement; viz.: —

"The name of the second [wife] was Elizabeth Dunster, sister of the Rev. Henry Dunster, President of Harvard College. She died about half a year after marriage. The name of the third wife was Mary Dunster, cousin of the above Elizabeth; who survived the Major, and was married to Deacon Noyes, of Sudbury."

There are accounts varying from this, so far as the Dunster marriages are concerned. Thus, in the glowing description of the death of Madam Isabel Frink, wife of Rev. Thomas Frink, of Rutland District (Barre), March 2, 1772,* after stating that she was the youngest daughter of Samuel Wright, Esq., of Rutland, it is added, that she "was descended by her mother from the honourable and famous Major Willard of Lancaster, by his *second* wife Isabel, sister of President Dunster." This agrees with Dr. Willard only in the statement that the second wife was sister to the president; and may be taken, perhaps, as an independent proof of that fact. All else is very questionable. If the second wife

* Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter, March 26, 1772.

died "about half a year after marriage," Madam Frink was a descendant in the direct line from the *third* wife, Mary Dunster. That Mary Dunster was the third and last wife of the Major, there is not the slightest doubt. Mrs. Frink's grandmother was Mary (the second of that name), daughter of Major Willard, and wife of Cyprian Stevens, of Lancaster, son of Colonel Thomas Stevens, of Devonshire, afterwards of London. Mary, daughter of Cyprian and Mary Stevens, married Samuel Wright, Esq., of Rutland; and they were the *parents* of Mrs. Frink. There are erroneous statements contained in a manuscript entitled "A Brief Account of the Families of the Dunsters, A. D. 1764." This manuscript — the property of Rev. Samuel Sewall, of Burlington in this Commonwealth — was drawn up by his predecessor in the ministry at Burlington, the Rev. John Marrett, whose mother was "a sister of Rev. Isaiah Dunster of Harwich, and a great-grand-daughter of President Dunster." Marrett, speaking of the Dunster family, says that the president's father was Henry, as appears by a letter from him dated "Balehoult, March 20, 1640." After vainly searching for this place, I ascertained from my good friend, the late Dr. Harris, Librarian of Harvard College, that this was probably Bale, in the hundred of Holt, in Norfolk. I accordingly wrote to the supposed rector at Bale, and received a very kind answer from Rev. J. H. Sparke, of Gunthorpe, a neighboring parish. Mr. Sparke states that the register at Bale had been searched, according to my request; "but the name of Dunster could not be found therein." The subsequent unexpected discovery of this "Balehoult" letter, and also of the locality itself, will appear in a subsequent page. Marrett adds, that Henry Dunster had four sons living at the date of the letter; viz., Henry (the president), Thomas, Richard, and Robert; and two daughters, — Faith and Dorothy; that the three last sons never came to New England; that Faith married Edmund Rice, of Sudbury; and that "Dorothy married —— Willard, of ——, by whom she hath left issue." It

is a mistake to say that the president was the only son who came to New England. The "Balehoult" letter shows that Richard was here in the winter and spring of 1641, and it is probable that he accompanied his brother hither. Some Dunster papers in the possession of the college establish the fact, that he was still here in September, 1642. Whether he died in New England or returned home, nowhere appears within my knowledge.

Then with regard to Faith and Dorothy, neither of whom is named in the "Balehoult" letter. It is certainly somewhat singular to find such discrepancies in accounts so nearly contemporaneous. Faith Dunster, the only one of the name of whom I have any account, married John Page, of Groton, May 12, 1664. This is matter of record. She may have been the president's sister; but it is perhaps more probable, as will be seen in the sequel, that she was a collateral relation, — either niece or cousin. She had children born of this marriage in 1669, 1672, and 1674 (Butler's "Groton"). Possibly there may have been another Faith Dunster, who married the second Edmund Rice, of Sudbury, son of the first Edmund of that town, and contemporary with the president; but of this there is no proof. If it be intended that *Major Simon* Willard married Dorothy Dunster, and had issue of the marriage, it seems a double error. It may relieve the statement from being entirely discredited, by suggesting the *possibility* that she was the wife of the Major's brother George. I have never been able to ascertain who his wife was. Marrett may have obtained information from Dunster of Harwich, which was either erroneously given or reported; but the "Balehoult" letter is not responsible for it. Marrett must have known not only the Christian name of the Major, — an historical person, — but also his residence (never far from that of Marrett); and, knowing them, he would have made the proper insertion in his narrative, had they concerned the Major.

President Dunster, by his will, bearing date Feb. 18, 1658–9, and proved April 29 following, gave a legacy to his

"cousin Faith Dunster,"* and also to his "cousin [Elizabeth] Bowers" and her children. She was married 9. 10. 1653, to Bennanuel Bowers, of Cambridge, who, as well as the president, was a Baptist, and arrived at the distinction of being more frequently fined by the County Court, for not attending public worship, than any other man.

All the relations named by the president in his will, besides his children, are "sister Hills, of Malden; sister Willard, of Concord; cousin [Elizabeth] Bowers; and cousin Faith Dunster" (afterwards Mrs. Page). The legacies are to "my sister Willard, and all her children;" to "my sister Hills, and all her children born in this country," &c. At the date of the will, Mary Dunster was the Major's wife. The fact that Mrs. Hills was of Malden, and that Mr. Joseph Hills, of Malden, — a man somewhat distinguished at that day, — was one of the "overseers" of the will, tends to the inference of a family connection between this Mr. Hills and the president. He was the only one at that day in Malden who would be likely to intermarry with one of the Dunster family. Who, then, was the wife of Mr. Joseph Hills? and how was she the president's sister? It is easier to state who she was not. She was not Dorothy Dunster. Her name was "Elline" ("Hellen Atkinson") at the date of the will. Was she sister to Mrs. Dunster? or had Hills an earlier wife named Dorothy Dunster? † I have no sufficient data to enable me to answer these questions.

Of these differing statements, the one made by Dr. Willard may be supported by the following suggestions. He was great-nephew to the Honorable Secretary Josiah Willard, and a frequent recipient of his favors. From the

* At this period, and for many years afterwards, cousin was a frequent designation for niece. Thus Secretary Willard, in his letters to his niece, — daughter of his brother, Major John Willard, of the Island of Jamaica, — addresses her uniformly as "my dear cousin."

† The name "Dorothy," however derived, is found in the Major's family. He had one daughter, three grand-daughters, and at least one great-grand-daughter, of that name. Abraham Willard, of Horsmonden, — *perhaps* related to the Major, — married Dorothy Doule in January, 1604; and had a daughter Dorothy baptized May 21, 1607 (*ante*, pp. 40-41). President Dunster had a daughter Dorothy.

secretary he derived some genealogical information, and probably this in relation to the Dunsters. "I was often at the secretary's," says Dr. Willard, "as he was my guardian and benefactor; and I tarried at his house whenever I was in Boston," — that is to say, while he was preparing for college under Master Minot, of Concord; during his college course, from 1747 to 1751; and for several years after he graduated. The secretary was sixty-six years of age at this first date, and was assiduously employed in his important public functions, with unbroken powers of mind. He must, it should seem, have known the marriages of his own grandfather. This knowledge he would derive from his own father, the Rev. Samuel Willard; for he was in his twenty-seventh year when that father died. He would derive it also from certain of his uncles and aunts, children of the Major, all living in Massachusetts, not far from his own residence in Boston, — one, indeed, living in Boston, and the others in Salem, Concord, Sudbury, Lancaster, and Grafton, and dying respectively in 1701, 1706, 1708, 1726, 1731, 1732, and 1743, or afterwards. It is unnecessary to refer to cousins-german, of whom he had a host all around, and with many of whom he appears to have been well acquainted. And then his grandmother-in-law, Madam Noyes, was living in Sudbury until December, 1715, when the secretary was thirty-four years old.

Besides his intimate acquaintance with the secretary, Dr. Willard enjoyed the acquaintance of others of the Major's grandsons as well as grand-daughters.

As these various sources of information were all easily accessible, we could hardly imagine any error, especially when we consider the very intimate intercourse existing between the nearly allied branches of a family at that day, but for the fact that President Dunster, in his will, calls Major Willard's wife "sister Willard." If this expression is to be taken literally, it would end the question.*

As a supplement to the foregoing remarks, it may be men-

* A possible solution of the difficulty is suggested on a subsequent page.

tioned, that, since the preceding investigations were made, further and unexpected evidence has been discovered in relation to the part of England whence the Dunsters proceeded, and establishing the fact that the president had *a sister Elizabeth*, not mentioned by Marrett. In antiquarian investigations, confirmations frequently come when least looked for; and so it is in the present instance. The president, in his letter to Professor Ravis, the distinguished Oriental scholar, first published in 1852,* in speaking of the difference between the north and south of England in the pronunciation of the letter Q, says, "Tis true the southern English confound it with K; but wee in the north (*Ego enim Lancanstrensis sum*) pronounce it fully, and exactly as yourselfe teach." This letter contained the first reference I had ever met with to the particular part of the island which was the birthplace of the Dunsters, — the ancestors of so many of the Willard name and family. In the fall of 1853, the veritable and interesting "Balehoult" letter was disinterred, after it had long been given up for lost.† The letter is dated "from Balehoult this 20th of March, 1640" (1640–1), and is addressed by the writer to his "kind and lovinge son." It contains some interesting particulars relating to the irruption of the Scots into the north of England; and remarks upon the court party, showing that the writer belonged to the Republican party. He mentions sons Thomas, Richard, and Robert. The wife of Thomas had recently died. "I pray God," says the writer, "he [may] take good wayes. . . . Touchinge Richard, I would advise him not to come over againe as yett; for whatsoever

* Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, vol. xxxi. p. 251. This letter bears date "Harvard Coll: Cambr: in N. E. Febru;" and was probably written, in the opinion of the editors, in 1648.

† It was found at Pembroke, in this State, in the house of two female descendants of the president; and is now in the possession of one of his lineage, — Mr. Edward Swift Dunster, a graduate of Harvard University in the class of 1856. I made the extract from the letter contained in the text. The whole letter has since been published in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, vol. xxxii.

is his due shall bee left in the hands of his sisters: for I have taken a general acquittance of Robte, so that Richard and his sisters may have what wee two ould folks leave, and wee shall make no willful wast . . . Your *sister Elizabeth* is turned scribe, and can do very well of three weeks tyme. I pray you give Richard* good counsell, and bee the meanes to trayne him upp in goodnes, and make much of each other; for it repenteth mee very sore of my lyffe heretofore spent in Idle company, and I thank God hartelye that p'longed my lyffe to see my erors and foly."

Elizabeth is the only daughter whom he mentions by name; and there is nothing in the letter to show the number of his daughters, though there were two at the least.

The writer speaks with entire familiarity of several places as in his neighborhood, and near each other, — as Bolton, Bury, Middleton, — and of persons residing there. "Upon the 8 of 7br, beinge Bury fayre, there was at Burye forty thousand, with such weapons as ye could gett; and those that had no better tooke every one a great clubb, and it was caled Club Fayre at Burye. . . . The ould Lady Ashton and Mr. Rawsthorn's heire dyed wth in two howers togather, upon Wednesday after Candlemas, and weare buried at burye [Bury], both in one grave." The following entry of burials, taken from the Bury Register by the rector, Rev. Mr. Hornby, refers to these individuals: viz., "1640–1, Jany. 25, Madam Mary Ashton, of Brandlesham, — a child of Mr. Rawsthorn, of New Hall."† The letter continues: "We have gotten ould Mr. Horocks to be lecturer att burye (Bury) every thursday. . . . Mr. Ashton, of Middleton, is one of our Knights for the Parliment;"‡ &c.

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* Is it not probable that he came over to be instructed either in the college, or by his more liberally educated brother?

† See Mr. Hornby's letter, *post*.

‡ Rev. Mr. Sewall states that an "intelligent farmer in his neighborhood, a native of Lancashire," says, "that though he had no recollection of any town, village, or hamlet, in his native county, by the name of 'Balehoult,' he well remembers an ancient brick dwelling, of very peculiar structure, at the top of a high

Thus we first start with Dunster's declaration, that he was a Lancashire man; and then follows the "Balehoult" letter, establishing the locality of the Dunsters in the southerly part of that county.

I called the attention of Rev. Mr. Hunter to this letter, and furnished him with copious extracts. Following his general habit, he lost no time in instituting the requisite examination, and forwarding the result. "I am unwilling," he says, "not to communicate by the earliest opportunity information that I have obtained, which cannot but be interesting to you. It was clear that Balehoult was some place so called in the neighborhood of Bury in Lancashire, and probably in the parish of Bury." — "The Rev. Mr. Hornby, the Rector of Bury," in a letter addressed to Rev. Canon Raines, a friend of my correspondent, says, "There is a place in the township of Elton* (a member of the parish of Bury), called now Bolholt, which I don't doubt is the place you mean; because there is a house not very far from it which goes by the name of 'Dunster's.' I looked through a good deal of the registers this morning, but I could find no entry of any of the Dunsters." — "The name of Dunster, however," says Mr. Hunter, "is ancient in those parts of Lancashire." — "It frequently occurs," according to Mr. Raines, "in the register of Middleton (a parish adjoining that of Bury), from the beginning." The two following entries were communicated to Mr. Hunter by Mr. Raines: viz., "1564, Sept. 5, baptized Thomas Dunster. 1643, Feb. 21, buried Edmund Dunster, aged 96." — "It seems probable," adds Mr. Hunter, "that the Dunster who wrote the letter may have transferred his household from the parish of Middleton to Bury. I am, however, a little surprised and disappointed at not finding the name in any of our Subsidy

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hill (near either Bury or Ashton-under-the-Line), in the ascent to which, and in the descent from it, on each side of the way, was a noble row of old trees, and that this single house went by the name of 'Holt Hill.'"

* Elton, thirteen and a quarter miles west of Bury. Population, 5,202. — *Johnston's Universal Gazetteer.*

Rolls for those parts of the kingdom; since it is evident that they were a family possessed of property, and also of better attainments than most of their neighbors, — belonging, I should say, to the better class of yeomanry. The Dunsters of America are very fortunate in possessing such a piece of family evidence as this letter. It is one of the few cases which have come under my knowledge, in which the New-England families can be traced, by evidence that is indisputable, to their English home, when they had abandoned it at so early a period."

As the Dunsters and Willards are intimately allied, having a common transmitted inheritance of blood flowing through the veins of very numerous descendants, it may not be without interest to the Willard family to enumerate others of the name of Dunster, and probably among them some connected with Henry Dunster, and his son, the President of the College.

A subsequent letter from Mr. Raines to Mr. Hunter, June 24, 1854, furnishes some further extracts from the register-books of Bury, adding to the probability of the local derivation of our American Dunsters from Elton or the vicinity. These extracts are as follows; viz.: —

REGISTER OF ELTON.

Henry, son of John Dunster, of Elton; born Aug. 21, bap. Sept. 9, 1649.

Daniel, son of John Dunster, of Elton; bap. July 27, 1652.

Henry, son of John Dunster, of Elton; born Aug. 24, bap. Aug. 26, 1655.

Mary, daughter of John Dunster, of Elton; born April 15, bap. April 21, 1657.

Mr. John Dunster, churchwarden for Elton, 1677; and again, 1679.

Isabel Dunster and Thomas Hay, both of this parish; married Sept. 28, 1680.

Daniel Dunster and Elizabeth Crompton, both of Bury; married Aug. 11, 1696.

John, son of Henry Dunster; buried Sept. 14, 1687.
Alice Dunster, of Tottington,* buried Sept. 29, 1688.

Mr. Raines expresses the opinion, that "a more exact and accurate examination of the Bury registers would furnish more entries of the Dunsters. I well recollect," he adds, "that the Middleton registers contain many of the name. I also observed some wills at Chester." Future investigations in these localities may establish the birthplace of President Dunster, and that of his brothers and sisters, and clear up the doubts relating to Major Willard's Dunster wives.

According to Mr. Raines, "the late Thomas Barrett, the Manchester saddler and antiquary," was a descendant of Thomas Dunster's daughter Margaret; "probably of the same stock as Dr. Henry Dunster, of whom Brook has given an interesting notice, vol. iii. p. 323." Barrett exhibited some skill in "a portrait which he drew from an original oil painting of Thomas Dunster. This painting was at Booth's Town in Worsley,† at the house he owned and lived in. . . . Upon a flag in the floor . . . were the initials T. D., I. D., and A. D., and the year 1681." These initials may stand for Thomas, Isabel, and Alice Dunster.

Pursuant to Mr. Hunter's request, his "exact and much-esteemed friend," the Rev. Mr. Raines, "deeply learned in the topography and genealogy of those parts," continued his investigations, and examined the old registers of Middleton, near "Balehoult," for the baptisms, marriages, and burials of the family of Dunster, with the following result;‡ viz.: —

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* Tottington (Higher and Lower) is north-westerly from Bury.

† Worsley is in the south-easterly part of Lancashire, a few miles from Bury on the north, and Middleton on the east.

‡ Rev. Mr. Hunter's letter, March 19, 1855.

REGISTER OF MIDDLETON.

BAPTISMS.

Georgius Dunster . . . . . Aug. 3, 35 Aº R.R. Hen. VIII.
Daniel Dunstrere . . Feb. [?] Aº R. Edw. VI. 5ntd (*sic*) 1552.
Edmund Dunster . . . . . Mar. 15, 1553.
Nathaniel Dunster . . . . . vii. Feb., 1563.
Thos. Dunster . . . . . Sept. 5, 1564.
Martha, filia Jac: Dunster . . . . . 27 Jan., 1593.
Mary, filia Jac: Dunster . . . . . 4 May, 1595.
Eliz. dau. of Edmund Dunstale (?) . . . . . 27 July, 1600.
John, s. of Richard Dunster . . . . . 21 Aug., 1605.
Mary, d. of Richard Dunster . . . . . 5 April, 1607.
Anne, d. of Richard Dunster . . . . . 9 April, 1609.
Mary, d. of Edmund Dunster . . . . . 16 June, 1622.
Ann, d. of Edmund Dunster* . . . . . 6 June, 1627.
Edmund, son of Henry Dunstre, of Hopwood; † born 12 Mar., 1658.
Ann, dau. of Jonathan Dunster, of Boarshawe; bap. 20 Mar., 1704, by me, Jas. Duckworth, curate.
Henry, son of Jonathan ‡ Dunster, of Boarshawe, 15 July, 1707.

WEDDINGS.

James Scholes and Lucy Dunster . . . Aug. 8, 35 Hen. VIII.
Edmund Dunster and Margaret Cropper . . . . 23 Jan., 1548.
Henry Dunster and Anne Strete . . . . 25 July, 3 Edw. VI.
Edmund Dunster and Jennett Hopwood . . July 29, 4 Edw. VI.
Robert Whitaker and Eliz. Dunster . . . 30 Nov., 4 Edw. VI.
Henry Dunster and Agnes Raye . . . . 15 May, 6 Edw. VI.
James Dunster and Joan Scholes . . . . . Sept. 30, 1589.
Edmund Dunster and Katharine Hall . . . . . Feb. 17, 1590.
James Wilde and Anne Dunster . . . . . June 30, 1594.
John Dunster and Ann Barlow, of Middleton, 3 times published . . . . . 21 Sept., 1698.

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* Mr. Edmund Dunster occurs as churchwarden in 1642.

† Hopwood is a township in the parish of Middleton.

‡ The President had a son named Jonathan.

BURIALS.

Hugo Dunster	20 Oct., 34 H. VIII.
Katharine Dunster	Jan. 12, 34 H. VIII.
Johannes Dunster	16 May, 34 H. VIII.
Georgius Dunster	12 Jan., 35 H. VIII.
George Dunster	17 Aug., 1 E. VI.
Jennet Dunster	29 Sept., 1 E. VI.
Elizabeth ux. Johannis Dunster	21 Oct., 4 E. VI.
Johannes Dunster	25 July, 5 E. VI.
Anna Dunster	xi. Julii, 1 Mar. [Mary].
Alicia Dunster	xxviii. Febri., 1562.
John Dunster	28 Mar., 1564.
Elizabeth Dunster	Aug. 5, 1575.
James Dunster	Jan. 6, 1577.
Ux. Jacobi Dunster	Jan. 13, 1588.
Wm Dunster	16 May, 1596.
Nathaniel Dunster	bur'd 21 Aug., 1597.
Henry Dunster	14 July, 1607.
Edmund Dunster, aged 96	Feb. 21, 1643.
John Dunster	3 Sept., 1687.

The recurrence of the names Henry, Isabel, Thomas, Mary, Elizabeth, and Richard, in the foregoing list, leads to a probable connection between these Dunsters and the American family. An examination of the Lancashire wills would be very likely to reward any inquirer ready to undertake the labor and pains of an investigation.

In the course of my examinations, I have met with several other persons of the name of Dunster; viz.: —

John Dunster, 1530, 22 Hen. VIII., bachelor of divinity; a canon regular. — *Wood's Fasti Oxon.*, vol. i. p. 85.

Roger Dunster, of London, merchant, early in the seventeenth century, married Ann, daughter of Samuel Sotherton, Gent. — *Blomefield's Norfolk*, vol. x. pp. 428–9.

Ann Dunster, daughter of Roger Dunster, married John Berrington, Esq., who was of "Hauteyn's Manor" in Norfolk, in 1664. — *Blomefield, ut supra.*

John Dunster, bachelor of arts, Magdalen College, 1600. Master in 1604, and proctor of the college in 1611. — *Wood's Fasti Oxon.*, vol. i. pp. 285, 302, 341.

Thomas Dunster, proctor in Wadham College, 1688; elected warden in 1689, on the promotion of Rev. Dr. Gilbert Ironside to the see of Bristol; doctor of divinity in 1690. — *Wood's Fasti Oxon.*, vol. i. p. 410.

Henry Dunster, Esq., married Mary, daughter and heir of Henry Gardiner, Esq., M.P. for Ilchester, 1660. Their son, —

William Dunster, Esq., had a daughter Mary, who married Samuel Bosanquet, Lord of Low Hall, co. Essex. — *Letter of Mr. Lower.*

Samuel Dunster, in 1699, published "Anglia Rediviva; being a full Description of all the Shires in England." — *Rev. Mr. Hunter's letter.*

Charles Dunster, a clergyman, Rector of Petworth; author of "Considerations on Milton's Early Reading," and many other works. — *Ibid.*

—— Dunster, a vicar of Rochdale, — a place close to Bury and Middleton. He was not a Lancashire man. — *Ibid.*

James Dunster, of Stone, Isle of Oxney, in the hundred of Oxney, and —

Richard Dunster, of Westerham, in the same hundred, electors. Poll Books, eastern division of Kent, 1832 and 1837.

There is also Dunster, a market-town and parish in Somersetshire.

To return to my more immediate subject. It may be considered as reasonably proved, that the second wife of Major Willard was Elizabeth Dunster, her father's "scribe," and the sister of the President; that she died childless, ac-

cording to the Rev. Dr. Willard; and that the third wife was Mary Dunster. This being so, the only difficulty remaining is to determine the precise relationship in which Mary Dunster stood to the President, — whether sister or cousin (niece). It is beyond question, that she was the wife of Major Willard at the date of the President's will, Feb. 18, 1659. Except that the President calls her "sister Willard," there is nothing to controvert the statement made by Dr. Willard, that she was his cousin (niece). From the manner in which the sisters are spoken of in the "Balehoult" letter, it cannot be determined whether they were of adult age in 1641. If Mary was one of these sisters, she must have died at a very advanced age, in December, 1715; surviving her first husband nearly forty years, the birth of her youngest child forty-six years, the President nearly fifty-seven years, and the date of the "Balehoult" letter nearly seventy-five years. The President was bachelor of arts at Magdalen College in 1630, and master in 1634; and, had he lived until 1715, would have been more than a hundred years of age. If she were a collateral relation, though called "sister," might it be explained in this way? — viz., the Major's marriage with Elizabeth Dunster constituted him brother-in-law to the President; and the subsequent marriage with Mary might be construed as authorizing him to call her "sister Willard," she then being the wife of the man who was already the President's brother-in-law by virtue of the first alliance. It is true, he speaks in his will of "cousin Bowers;" but then Mrs. Bowers's husband had never stood to him in the relation of brother-in-law by a former marriage. The more intimate relation of brother and sister between Henry and Mary may have existed, if we suppose her to have been many years younger than Henry, — as she was, in fact, many years younger than her husband.

On the whole, the data are not sufficient to sanction a decided authoritative opinion upon the question. It is not well to dogmatize by bold induction from a few and slight

particulars, especially as some unexpected piece of evidence may be discovered, — as in this very " Balehoult " letter, for example, — and overthrow the most carefully considered and nicely constructed theory.* Each reader is left to draw his own conclusions from the facts given.

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* See sundry remarks on this subject, published by the author of this Memoir, in the New-England Genealogical and Historical Register, vol. iv.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SIMON WILLARD.

(Continued.)

Major Willard had a family of seventeen children. I shall do but little more than name them, with their children and grandchildren in the male line; adding marriages and dates, so far as they are ascertained, with some few brief notices. *Possibly*, at a future day, should time allow, I may give the genealogy in full for five or six generations in the male line, with succinct biographical sketches of those whose worth and influence in their own day should be held in remembrance as examples to posterity.* This would fill an entire volume.

Of the Major's large family, all the sons, nine in number, and five of his eight daughters, arrived at mature age; were married, and left issue. With such a start from this numerous stock, the descendants are a host, distributed broadcast over the land. The whole number living and dead, including the female branches, counts by hundreds of thousands, in eight generations; while the number in the ninth generation is becoming large. In this statement, I

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* Several of the family seem to have supposed that this volume was to contain the genealogy of the family in full. They are without warrant in this supposition. Nothing was promised in the "Circular" beyond "a list of" the Major's "children, with their marriages," and a list of "his grandchildren and great-grandchildren in the male line." A hope was expressed, in the concluding paragraph, that I might be able, at no distant day, to arrange and publish the materials I possess for a more extended genealogy. This would involve great labor and a wide correspondence, in addition to what has already been done; while but few intervals of leisure can be secured for the purpose, amid paramount and engrossing duties.

have taken for a basis the calculation made by Mr. Shattuck in relation to his own family.

His careful examination shows that two-thirds of the children live to be married. I have examined the names in the male branch of the Willard family of the third and fourth generations, and find that two-thirds is a moderate estimate for marriages; and that, by assuming the ratio of seven to three, there is no danger of exaggeration: —

Estimate of the number of Major Simon Willard's descendants, in the male and female lines, for eight generations.

Generation.	Descendants.	Die unmarried.	Live to be married.
1st Generation	1	0	1
2d Generation	17	3	14
3d Generation	107	35	72
4th Generation	504	168	336
5th Generation	2,352	784	1,568
6th Generation	10,976	3,658	7,318
7th Generation	51,226	17,075	34,151
8th Generation	239,057	79,685	159,372

Dr. Willard gives the names of his ancestor's children, first the sons, and then the daughters, with their marriages; but the list is without dates, and is imperfect in the marriages. It reads thus: —

"Josiah; Simon; Samuel* married $\frac{\text{Tyng}}{\text{Sherman}}$ [it should be, first, Sherman; second, Tyng]. Henry married, first, Mary Lakin; second, Dorcas Cutler. John married Mary Howard [it should be Hayward]. Daniel; Joseph; Benjamin married Sarah Lakin; Jonathan married —— Brown; Mary married —— Edmunds; Elizabeth married Samuel [it should be Robert] Blood; Dorothy died unmarried; Sarah married —— Howard; Abovehope died unmarried; Mary married Cyprian Stevens; Elizabeth died unmarried; Hannah married Captain Thomas Brintnall."

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* The true order of births is here reversed. It should be Samuel, then Simon.

There are two things in this list which will strike the reader as requiring explanation: 1. That there were two married daughters by the name of Mary; 2. That, of the two Elizabeths, it was the elder, and not the younger, who was married. With regard to the Marys, I propose the explanation, that the elder of the name, who was born in England, died before the birth of her younger namesake, which did not take place until September, 1653. A name thus consecrated by death would be held in hallowed remembrance, and be affectionately preserved by bestowing it upon the new-comer. The elder Mary was unquestionably born in England; otherwise we must adopt the untenable theory, that she was under the age of fifteen years at the time of her marriage. Her father arrived in this country in the middle of May, 1634. She was married as early as the summer of 1649. Her son Samuel was born 16. 12. 1649 (1650). Mary, the younger, was born in September, 1653. Meanwhile, Mrs. Edmunds may have died. I have not the date of her death. The name of Joshua Edmunds's second wife was Elizabeth; and they had a child baptized in January, 1665. I can make no nearer approximation to the death of Mary, senior.

Concerning the two Elizabeths, if the order of their births is correctly stated, no explanation can be given. The one who was married lived until August, 1690; and why, while she was living, should her name be bestowed upon a younger sister? Dr. Willard's collocation places the second Elizabeth low down upon the list, at a point of time subsequent to the marriage of her sister of the same name.

It is barely possible that the parents saw no impropriety or inconvenience in repeating the name for a new birth, after the marriage of the elder sister had withdrawn her from the paternal roof; but it is much more probable that the first Elizabeth died in infancy, and that the married Elizabeth was a subsequent birth.

The Middlesex records do not contain the births of the elder Mary, the two Elizabeths, Dorothy, and Josiah. The

earliest law requiring the registration of births, marriages, and deaths, was passed in September, 1639: and the earliest recorded birth in the Major's family is that of Samuel, in 1640; followed, in due time, by Sarah, Abovehope, Simon, the second Mary, Henry, John, and Daniel, who were also born at Concord; Joseph, Benjamin, Hannah, and Jonathan, born at Lancaster. The Major, according to Shattuck, was town-clerk of Concord from 1635 to 1653, and doubtless recorded all the births occurring in his family after the registration-law took effect, until 1653; and, after 1653, would be careful to make return of all subsequent births to the clerk for the time being.

Besides the elder Mary, one or two others of the children may have been born in England, but not more than two; viz., the two Elizabeths, or the first Elizabeth and Dorothy, — unless the first wife, Mary Sharpe, was born earlier than 1614.* The true order of the births of the first five children I assume to be this, — Mary, Elizabeth, Elizabeth, Dorothy, and Josiah.

I have ascertained the marriages of all the children except Joseph, supplied many dates and Christian names, and give the following as the corrected list: —

1. Mary, daughter of Simon and Mary; born in England; married Joshua Edmunds, about 1649. She probably died before 1653. Mr. Edmunds was married a second time; had issue; and died Nov. 5, 1683, æt. fifty-nine.
2. Elizabeth, daughter of Simon and Mary; perhaps born in England. Died in infancy (?).
3. Elizabeth, daughter of Simon and Mary; uncertain whether born in Old or New England; married Robert Blood, of Concord, April 8, 1653. She died Aug. 29, 1690. Her husband was again married; and died Oct. 27, 1701.
4. Dorothy, daughter of Simon and Mary; uncertain whether born in Old or New England; died in infancy or early youth.

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* She was baptized in October, 1614.

5. Josiah, son of Simon and Mary; probably born in New England; married Hannah Hosmer, daughter of Thomas Hosmer, a distinguished citizen of Hartford, March 20, 1656–7. He resided some years in Hartford; and then removed to Wethersfield, where he kept school. He died in Wethersfield (July?), 1674. His widow survived him.
6. Samuel, son of Simon and Mary; born at Concord, Jan. 31, 1639–40; graduated at Harvard College in 1659. He married, first, Abigail Sherman, daughter of Rev. John and Mary (Launce) Sherman, of Watertown, Aug. 8, 1664; second, about 1679, Eunice, daughter of Edward Tyng, a leading man in the Colony of Massachusetts. She survived her husband, and died in Boston, Jan. 14, 1720.

Mr. Willard was first settled in Groton, and remained there until the town was destroyed in Philip's war, March, 1676. He was installed over the Old South Church in Boston in 1678; and there continued until his death, Sept. 12, 1707. He was also President of Harvard College from September, 1701, until his death, with the title of "Vice-President;" the law requiring the President to reside at Cambridge, and he declining to relinquish his parochial cure.

Of this learned and independent divine, an extended sketch will be given, should a full genealogy of the family be published.

7. Sarah, daughter of Simon and Mary; born at Concord, June 27 (or July 24), 1642; married Nathaniel Howard, of Chelmsford, afterwards of Charlestown, July 2, 1666. Mrs. Howard died in Charlestown, Jan. 22, 1677–8. Mr. Howard's second wife was Sarah Parker, to whom he was married in 1678.
8. Abovehope, daughter of Simon and Mary; born at Concord, Oct. 30, 1646; died in Lancaster, Dec. 23, 1663, at the age of seventeen years, unmarried.

This may have been one of the peculiar names indulged in by the Puritans in England, and, in some few instances, by our ancestors in this country; though it is more likely

to have been significant of some peculiar circumstance, whatever it was, connected with the family, and justifying its use.

9. Simon, son of Simon and Mary; born at Concord, Nov. 23, 1649; married, first, Martha Jacob, daughter of Richard and Joanna Jacob, of Ipswich, about 1679. He removed to Salem, where, for many years, he was deacon of the First Church. In 1718, when a Second Church was organized, he resigned his deaconship, receiving "thanks for his good service," and transferred his relations to the new church. He was made Marshal of Essex in June, 1689, after the overthrow of Andros. He was in active service, as commander of a military company, in an expedition against the eastern Indians, 1689–90. He survived his wife Martha; and, in his old age, married Priscilla Buttolph, July 25, 1722. Priscilla seems to have been a thorn in the good deacon's side. Two days before his death he drew up a paper, in which he says, that my wife Priscilla "hath left me for a considerable time in all my sickness and illness, and not attending on me according to our bargain. I, the said Simon Willard, abovesaid, do renounce her, the said Priscilla, from having or receiving any part or proportion of my estate, as not carrying to me as my wife." This paper was solemnly recorded in the Registry of Deeds. He died June 23, 1731, æt. eighty-one years, six months, and thirty days.
10. Mary, the younger of that name, daughter of Simon and Mary; born at Concord, Sept. 7 (or 27), 1653; married Cyprian Stevens, of Lancaster, Jan. 22, 1671.* He was the fourth and youngest son of Colonel Thomas Stevens, of Devonshire in England, who in the latter part of the reign of Charles I., or during the Protectorate, removed to London.

Cyprian, on coming to New England, lived at first in Chelsea, and afterwards became a man of some consequence in Lancaster. He survived his wife Mary, and married a second time, Ruth ——. I have not the surname of this second wife, nor the time of the first wife's

* Or 1671–2, *quære.*

death. The latter was not living in 1693; and I incline to believe that she died some years before.

11. Henry, son of Simon and Mary; born at Concord, June 4, 1655. He married, first, Mary Lakin, daughter of —— Lakin, of Groton, July 18, 1674, when at the age of nineteen. She died not later, I think, than 1688. Second, Dorcas Cutler, about 1689, *perhaps* of the Charlestown family. She survived her husband, and afterwards became the wife of Benjamin Bellows, for many years a resident of Lancaster. Henry Willard died leaving a good estate, and a large heritage of children. He had resided a while in Groton, but spent the principal part of his life in Lancaster, where he died, in middle life, in the year 1701. As several of his sons held highly respectable positions in life, it is a just inference in favor of the character of the parents. No contemporaneous notice of him is known to exist.
12. John, son of Simon and Mary Willard; born at Concord, Feb. 12, 1656–7; married Mary Hayward, daughter of John Hayward, of Concord, Oct. 31, 1698. He died in his native town, Aug. 27, 1726. Mrs. Willard was not living in March, 1729; but I have not the date of her death.
13. Daniel, son of Simon and Mary; born at Concord, Dec. 29, 1658; married, first, Hannah Cutler, daughter of John Cutler, sen., and Mehitable his wife, of Charlestown, Dec. 6, 1683. She died Feb. 22, 1690–1, æt. thirty years and two months. Second, he married Mary Mills, daughter of Jonathan Mills, of Braintree (now Quincy), Jan. 4, 1692–3. He lived successively in Sudbury, Charlestown, Braintree, and Boston. For several years, he was keeper of the jail in the latter place, and also engaged in trade. He died Aug. 23, 1708. His second wife survived him, and, Nov. 29, 1723, became the second wife of David Melvill, whose first wife, Mary, was the daughter of Rev. Samuel and Mary (Sherman) Willard.
14. Joseph, son of Simon and Mary; born at Lancaster, Jan. 4, 1660–1. Was married; but his wife's name is not known. He took up his residence in London, and perhaps died there. He was a sea-captain in the London trade, and was living in 1714, but died before June, 1721.

15. Benjamin, son of Simon and Mary; born at Lancaster, in 1665; married Sarah Lakin, daughter of Ensign John Lakin, and Mary his wife, of Groton, *perhaps* as early as 1690 or 1691. Benjamin's wife, according to Butler,* was born Feb. 4, 1661 (1662?). He resided for a time in Sudbury, and afterwards at Hassanimisco (Grafton).†

He was a highly respectable peace-loving man, "and generally beloved for his affability and good temper." At one time he was in command of a military company, in an expedition against the Indians; and was offered the commission of lieutenant-colonel, which he declined. He was put into the commission of the peace for the county of Worcester, by Governor Belcher. A modern man may think this fact unworthy of mention. Not so. An appointment to the magistracy at that day was an honor to be coveted. Very few appointments were made in any county, and great care and discrimination were exercised in the selection. How is it amongst us in the year of grace 1858?

Benjamin Willard died at Hassanimisco, June 16, 1732, in the sixty-seventh year of his age; the last surviving son of the Major. I cannot state the time of Mrs. Willard's death.

16. Hannah, daughter of Simon and Mary Willard; born at Lancaster, Oct. 6, 1666; married Captain Thomas Brintnall, of Sudbury, May 23, 1693. At the time of her marriage, she was residing in Sudbury. The captain was son of Thomas and Esther Brintnall, of Boston; and was born Nov. 1, 1669. He died in Sudbury, Aug. 2, 1733. Mrs. Brintnall was living in 1743, at the age of seventy-seven; the last surviving child of the Major.

Rev. Dr. Willard, who died in 1807, in the fifth generation from the Major, wrote thus: "Mrs. Brintnall was

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* History of Groton, p. 410.

† I am inclined to the opinion, that, in early manhood, he resided for a time in Charlestown.

living at a very advanced age at Sudbury, when I was at school at Concord [1743–7]; but I never had the pleasure of seeing her." It is matter of deep regret that he did not visit Mrs. Brintnall, whose residence was but a few miles from that of "Master Minot," in Concord. This lady was old enough, in the last year of her father's life, to remember many of the stirring and gloomy scenes occurring in 1675 and 1676. The pervading terrors; the dreadful alarms; the Indian enemy all around; her house in flames; the flight of the family from Groton, in escaping for their lives; the illness, death, and funeral obsequies of her father, and reminiscences of that father and family, — all these things would make an indelible impression on the mind of a child, and be of precious interest to the kindred in every succeeding age. It is quite a thought, that, so late as 1807, Dr. Willard might have had it in his power to say, "I conversed with a daughter of Major Willard, and had from her own lips a narrative of many of the events of Philip's war, happening in her own neighborhood, with her vivid recollections of her father and family."

17. Jonathan, son of Simon and Mary; born at Lancaster, Dec. 14, 1669; married Mary Browne, daughter of Major Thomas and Patience Browne, of Sudbury, and grand-daughter of Deacon William and Mary (Bisby) Browne. She was born Nov. 25, 1668; and married Jan. 8, 1690–1. Jonathan lived for a time in Roxbury; but chiefly, I believe, in Sudbury, where he died in 1706. Mrs. Willard was living in 1709, at the time of her own father's death. Major Browne was a man of large substance, and a very useful and trusted citizen. In his will, he remembered his "dutiful daughter, Mary Willard;" and gave a handsome estate to her only son, Jonathan Willard.

Major Willard's children do not exhibit the highest average of life. The elder Mary probably was not more than thirty-four years old at her death. The elder Elizabeth and Dorothy

died in infancy or early youth. Elizabeth, the younger (Mrs. Blood), could hardly have reached sixty years, or Josiah forty. Samuel died in his sixty-eighth year; Sarah (Mrs. Howard), in her thirty-sixth; Abovehope, at the age of seventeen; Simon, in his eighty-second year. Mary, the younger (Mrs. Stevens), certainly did not number forty years, and perhaps not more than thirty.* Henry died at the age of forty-six; and yet his posterity is more numerous in the United States than the posterity of all the other sons combined. John died in his seventieth, and Daniel in his fiftieth year. Joseph was living at the age of fifty-three, but died before 1721, when, if living, he would have attained to the age of sixty. Benjamin departed in his sixty-seventh year. Hannah was alive at the age of seventy-seven, and her shadow may have extended over several more years; while Jonathan died at the age of thirty-seven.

As nearly as I can approximate, after assuming that the first Elizabeth and Dorothy died in infancy or early youth, the average of life of the seventeen children was about forty-five years; or, excluding these two, somewhat over fifty years, perhaps fifty-one. The Major himself seems to have had an iron constitution.

The collective births of his children extended over so many years (nearly forty), that the order of nature was marvellously inverted, — the first grandchild, Samuel Edmunds, seeing the light of day before Mary (Mrs. Stevens), Henry, John, Daniel, Joseph, Benjamin, Hannah (Mrs. Brintnall), and Jonathan, his youthful uncles and aunts: indeed, he preceded his uncle Jonathan by *nearly twenty years*.

Having established the orderly sequence of Major Willard's children, and admitting that they all were the issue in part of the first and in part of the third marriage, my

* Two, at least, of her children were born after Lancaster was destroyed by the Indians, and before it was resettled. The records are very imperfect; but I should say, with some confidence, that she had no child born of this marriage after 1680, and that she lived but a few years after the birth of her youngest child.

next and last purpose is to ascertain, if practicable, the maternity of each child. It is very clear, that the first wife, Mary Sharpe, was the mother of all the children to Sarah inclusive, who was born in June or July, 1642. The "Balehoult" letter establishes the fact, that Elizabeth, who, as there is every reason to suppose, became the second wife, was at her father's, in England, March 20, 1641, unmarried, and without any intention of joining her brother, the President, and taking up her residence in New England during the lifetime of her parents,* who probably looked to their daughters for sympathy and affectionate care in their old age.

In order that Sarah should be the issue of the third marriage, taking it for granted that Elizabeth Dunster was the second wife, we must assume the truth of the following propositions, between March 20, 1641, and September or October, 1641, a period of some six months; viz.: —

1. The death of Elizabeth's father and mother soon after March 20, 1641.
2. Her speedy departure from England after their death, and her arrival in New England as early as May, 1641.
3. The preceding death of the first wife.
4. A reasonable time for Elizabeth's betrothment, after her arrival.
5. Her marriage, of about six months' continuance.
6. Her death.
7. A reasonable time, after her death, for the betrothment to Mary Dunster, resulting in the third marriage.

Thus we may feel fully assured that Mary (Sharpe) was the mother of all the children born before 1643.

The next child, named Abovehope, was born October, 1646, and is entitled upon the records daughter of "Simon

* Your sisters remember theire loves unto you both; but you must not expect them, so longe as your mother and I do live." — *Balehoult Letter*. He speaks of himself and wife as "we two ould folke."

and Mary." Here the fact disturbs us, that both of the producing vines were named Mary, — involving the maternity of this child in doubt. Was she a daughter by the third marriage? I cannot entirely satisfy myself on this point; but the fact that the third wife and widow of the Major lived sixty-nine years and two months after the birth of this child renders it improbable. And then the name seems as if designed to record an unexpected blessing bestowed in the birth of a daughter, after an interval of more than four years.

The third wife lived sixty-six years after the birth of the next child, Simon (born November, 1649); but the improbability of her being the mother, though less in this instance than in the last, is still to be considered.

But, allowing these two children to stand on the debatable ground, we come next to Mary, born in September, 1653, — the wife of Mr. Cyprian Stevens. Here we have an assurance, in the notice of Mrs. Frink's death, that this daughter was of the *Dunster descent.** I cannot gainsay this statement as to the *descent;* on the contrary, I believe it to be true; though there may be error in saying that the descent was from the "second wife, sister of President Dunster."

On the whole, the following seems to be the fairer conclusion, — after having exhausted all the known sources of inquiry, — viz.: That all the children to Sarah inclusive were certainly, and the two next — Abovehope and Simon — in all probability, the issue by the first marriage; and that, beginning with the second Mary, all the remaining children were the issue by the third marriage.

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* The children of the Rev. Samuel Willard, of Biddeford, unite both maternal lines, — the Sharpe and the Dunster. By their descent from the Major's son, Rev. Samuel, they are descendants of the Major's first wife; and, by the intermarriage of the Major's great-grandson — Rev. Samuel, of Biddeford — with a grand-daughter of Mrs. Mary Stevens, they are descendants of the third wife.

GENEALOGY

OF THE

FAMILY OF SIMON WILLARD,

Who arrived at Boston in May, 1634,

EXTENDED TO FOUR GENERATIONS.*

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1. SIMON WILLARD, born at Horsmonden, in the county of Kent, England, in 1605; baptized April 7, 1605; m., first, Mary Sharpe, daughter of Henry and Jane (Ffeylde) Sharpe, baptized Oct. 16, 1614, and died leaving issue; second, Elizabeth Dunster, who died about six months after her marriage; third, Mary Dunster. She survived her husband, leaving issue; and married, second, Deacon Joseph Noyes, of Sudbury, July 14, 1680; and died there, December, 1715.

2. [1]JOSIAH,[2]† m., March 20, 1656–7, Hannah Hosmer, daughter of Thomas Hosmer, of Hartford; and died at Wethersfield in 1674. Their children:—

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* In the third and fourth generations, it will be noticed that the births in a family are not always in strict chronological order. The reason is, that I was in possession of many names, merely names, and had numbered them several years before examining numerous church and town records to ascertain the order of births. To have altered the arrangement would have taken time, and might have occasioned some confusion.

† The numerals will be easily understood thus: Take the Major's children, [1]Josiah,[2] [2]Samuel,[2] [9]Jonathan:[2] the figure before and above the name designates the eldest, second, and ninth sons, and their respective descendants for any number of generations; the figure after and above the name, the particular generation from the Major; while the figures in brackets, after the name, point to the marginal figures, and show the place where the individual is found, either, subsequently, as a parent, or, earlier, as a child. Thus, take [1]Josiah,[2] the Major's eldest son: one of his sons is [1]Samuel[3] [118]; showing that Samuel is descended from the first son, is of the third generation from the Major, and will be found

3. [1] Samuel[3] [118], born at Hartford, Sept. 19, 1658; m., June 6, 1683, Sarah Clark. He died (at Saybrook) in 1713 or 1714.
4. [1] Josiah,[3] born at Hartford, March 13, 1659–60. Died unmarried.
5. [1] Simon[3] [122], born at Wethersfield (?) ——; m., Feb. 12, 1690, Mary Gilbert. He died at Wethersfield (Newington Society), Jan. 8, 1726. She died Dec. 1, 1712.
6. [1] Dorothy,[3] born at Wethersfield (?) ——; m., June 15, 1682, John Belden, of Wethersfield, who was born June 12, 1658. They had nine children, seven of whom were married. She was living, a widow, in May, 1720.
7. [1] Stephen,[3] born about 1667–8 at Wethersfield (?); died there July 28, 1741, æt. seventy-four, unmarried.
8. [1] Thomas[3] [131], born at Wethersfield; married, probably about 1690, Abigail Bradley. He removed to Guilford, that part of it which is now Madison, where he died.
9. [1] John,[3] born —— at Wethersfield (?); died unmarried.
10. [1] Hannah,[3] born —— at Wethersfield (?); m., May 18, 1698, Captain Janna Meigs, of Guilford, the first magistrate in the East-Guilford Society. He was born Dec. 27, 1672; and died June 5, 1739. Among their descendants were Colonel [1] Return Jonathan[5] Meigs, a distinguished officer in the Revolution; and his brother [1] Josiah,[5] tutor and professor at Yale, and President of the University of Georgia.

11. [2] Samuel,[2] born at Concord, Jan. 31, 1639–40; m. first, Aug. 8, 1664, Abigail Sherman, born 3. 12. 1647, daughter of Rev. John and Mary (Launce) Sherman, by whom he had eight children; second, about 1679, Eunice, daughter of Edward and —— Tyng. Mr. Willard died at Boston, Sept. 12, 1707. Mrs. Eunice died there, Jan. 14, 1720. The children: —
12. [2] Abigail,[3] daughter of [2] Samuel[2] and Mary, born at Groton, July 5, 1665; m. first, Nov. 29, 1694, Rev. Benjamin Esta-

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again at the marginal number 118, where he appears as a parent, with a reference back to the place where he first appeared as a child. In this way, the generations are clearly defined and connected.

brook, of Lexington, born Feb. 24, 1671 (Harvard College, 1690). He died July, 1697. Second, m. —— Rev. Samuel Treat, of Eastham (Harvard College, 1669), son of Governor Robert Treat, of Connecticut. Mr. Treat died March 18, 1717, æt. sixty-nine. Mrs. Treat died Dec. 27, 1746, in the eighty-second year of her age. They had a son, Robert Treat, and a daughter Eunice, who married Rev. Thomas Paine, of Weymouth (Harvard College, 1717). Their daughter, Eunice Paine, became the wife of Joseph Greenleaf, Esq.; and their son, Robert Treat Paine, who is deserving of an extended notice, graduated at Harvard College, 1749; was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, a distinguished lawyer, Attorney-General of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, a judge of the Supreme Court, and a member of the Executive Council.

13. [2]Samuel,[3] son of Samuel and Mary, born at Groton, Jan. 25, 1667–8. Died in infancy or early youth.

14. [2]Mary,[3] daughter of Samuel and Mary, born at Groton, Oct. 10, 1669; m. —— David Melvill, who resided in various places, — Barnstable and Boston, and Newport, R. I. While residing in Boston, a merchant (1717), he received the freedom of the city of Glasgow. He was of an ancient Scotch house. His wife died Aug. 2, 1723, leaving children. He married, second, Nov. 29, 1723, Mary (Mills) Willard, widow of [6]Daniel[2] Willard, the Major's sixth son. There are descendants of David Melvill now living at Newport; and he had a brother, who was the ancestor of Major Thomas Melvill, one of the "Boston tea-party," and for many years in the customs.

15. [2]John[3] [138], son of Samuel and Mary, born at Groton, Sept. 8, 1673; Harvard College, 1690; m. Frances Sherburne, of Jamaica (?), in 1703 or 1704. Major John Willard became a merchant, and travelled abroad. As early as 1700, he took up his residence in Port Royal, now Kingston, Jamaica. He was engaged in navigation, and was a large land-owner. He seems to have been in very prosperous business for several years, but afterwards "suffered much from the ill management of his partner in trade." His wife survived him at least ten years, and died at Kingston in 1733.

Major Willard, when a young man, at the time of the "witchcraft delusion," seems to have sympathized with his father in hostility to the proceedings at Salem. He was "bound over upon suspicion of conveying off Mrs. Elizabeth Cary from their Majesties jail in Cambridge." On his return from Europe in 1697, when the community had recovered its senses, "none appearing to object against him, he was acquitted of his bond by proclamation." An interesting account of this lady's imprisonment, and the harsh treatment she experienced until her rescue by young Willard, will be found in "Calef."

16. [2]Elizabeth,[3] daughter of Samuel and Mary, born at Groton, 12. 27. 1674–5. Her will bears date March 3; proved April 9, 1722. She gave several legacies (one to [2]Samuel,[4] son of Major [2]John [3] Willard, and father of Rev. Joseph Willard, President of Harvard College), and left the bulk of her property to her sister Mary, wife of David Melvill.

17. [2]Simon [3] [143], son of Samuel and Mary, born Dec. 6, 1676, after the destruction of Groton; Harvard College, 1695; m., April 30, 1702, Elizabeth Walley, widow of John Walley, jun., of Boston, daughter of Captain John Alden, and grand-daughter of the first John Alden, of Plymouth. Simon Willard was in trade in Boston. He made his will in 1709, in which he speaks of "shortly designing a voyage by sea, and not knowing how it may please God to dispose of me therein, unto whose good providence I desire to commit myself and my family in my absence." His will was proved by his widow Elizabeth in January, 1713. I place his death, perhaps abroad, in 1712. He is mentioned with respect by his father's successor in the ministry. He carefully transcribed his father's lectures, afterwards published as the "Body of Divinity," and read them in his family as a part of their sabbatical teachings.

18. [2]Edward,[3] eldest son and child of Samuel and Eunice, born at Boston, July 6, 1680; died Sept. 18, 1690.

19. [2]Josiah [3] [148], son of Samuel and Eunice, born at Boston, June 21, 1681; Harvard College, 1698; m. first, Oct. 24, 1715, Katharine Allen, of Boston, who died Aug. 1, 1725;

second, April 7, 1726, Mrs. Hannah Clarke, born in 1684 or 1685, and died July 28, 1766, in her eighty-second year. After leaving college, Mr. Willard became a tutor at that institution, pursued his studies in divinity, and began to preach; but, on account of an unconquerable diffidence, he soon relinquished the profession. He travelled abroad, to the West Indies and Europe; and, at one time, commanded a ship in the London trade. For many years afterwards, he was Secretary of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, — affectionately called "the good Secretary," — Judge of Probate, and one of the Executive Council for Suffolk.

Benevolence, unbending integrity, outspoken truth,* and a consistent Christian walk through a long life, were all intimately known and universally acknowledged by his contemporaries; and the memory of him is still fragrant with those who extend their inquiries through the first half of the eighteenth century.

20. [2]Eunice,[3] daughter of Samuel and Eunice, born at Boston, January, 1682–3; died in early life.

21. [2]Richard,[3]† son of Samuel and Eunice Willard, born at Boston, May, 1684. He is represented as having been a very promising youth. On June 28, 1697, at the age of thirteen, he entered Harvard College; and, the same afternoon, was drowned, while bathing in Charles River, — a stream that has been fatal to many students. "His father and mother," says Judge Sewall, in his diary, "mourn sorely. Mr. Willard's bearers for Richard were Mr. White, Mather, Pemberton, Burr, Bradstreet, Williams."

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* An instance of this occurred in 1747, when Sir Charles Knowles, the commodore, — who soon afterwards caused a great tumult by impressing men in Boston, — was on the Boston station. Dining at the Secretary's, Sir Charles, after the manner of his tribe, indulged in some profaneness. The Secretary addressed him a letter, reproving his speech; and delicately remarking, that the laws of hospitality prevented him from interposing at the time. Sir Charles had the good sense to return a gentlemanly answer, thanking the Secretary for his letter; and adding, that profaneness was not habitual with him, and that he would keep watch for the future.

† He is the earliest of the Major's descendants who bore the good old ancestral name of Richard of Horsmonden.

22. [2] William,[3] son of Samuel and Eunice, born at Boston, February, 1685–6. He became a merchant, and accompanied or followed his elder brother, Major John Willard, to the Island of Jamaica, where he was established in business as early, at least, as 1709. He was in partnership with Colonel Samuel Clarke, a gentleman of some distinction in the Colonial Legislature, and as a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. While at Jamaica, he seems to have carried on a pretty extensive business. He left the island about August, 1712, and settled in London. He was there engaged in mercantile business, and navigation, until his death, in 1716, or early in 1717, at the age of thirty-one, unmarried. In his will, he remembered very liberally his brothers and sisters of the half-blood; and, after a legacy to his mother of four hundred pounds, gave a like legacy to his brother, Secretary Josiah, together with the whole of his real estate.

23. [2] Margaret,[3] daughter of Samuel and Eunice, born at Boston, Dec. 3, 1687; m., June 13, 1715, Captain Thomas Child, a native of Great Britain. Mrs. Child died at Boston, April 10, 1720, *s. p.* He survived his wife many years, and was living in Boston in 1743, "in high style."

24. [2] Edward,[3] son of Samuel and Eunice, born at Boston, September, 1689, and died young.

25. [2] Hannah,[3] daughter of Samuel and Eunice, born at Boston, December, 1690; m., June 19, 1712, Judge William Little, of Plymouth (*quære* Harvard College, 1710). She died March 29, 1715, *s. p.*

26. [2] Sarah,[3] daughter of Samuel and Eunice, born at Boston, February, 1693; and died there, July 27, 1694.

27. [2] Eunice,[3] daughter of Samuel and Eunice, born at Boston, June 16, 1695. She was the last surviving daughter. Several gentlemen made suit to her, whose offers she declined. Possessing a good estate, she was able to mark out her own course, and cultivate her taste for letters, especially in history, far beyond the usual attainments of her sex at that day. One well acquainted with her described her conversation as "entertaining and instructive, without that pedantry which some learned ladies discover too plainly." For many years, she was a member of the family of her

brother, the Secretary, where she enjoyed the most cultivated society of that period, and the acquaintance of distinguished persons from abroad, who were frequent guests at her brother's hospitable table. She died July 26, 1751, aged fifty-six. Her brother felt her loss deeply. They had survived all their brothers and sisters, and enjoyed that intimate union, which, in the affectionate heart, becomes purer and holier as age advances. He writes to a friend, "I am now mourning over the death of my dear sister Eunice, and am left as the last surviving child of twenty by my father's side."

28. [2] Sarah,[3] daughter of Samuel and Eunice, born at Boston, June 10; and died July 23, 1697.

29. [2] Richard,[3] son of Samuel and Eunice, born at Boston, September, 1699. I have not the date of his death; but he was not *living* in August, 1717.

30. } There were two other children of the first marriage, who died
31. } very young. Their names have not been preserved.

Of all this large family, there are none of the Willard *name* now living, descendants of Rev. Samuel Willard, except the descendants of his grandson, Rev. [2] Samuel [4] Willard, of Biddeford, Me., son of Major [2] John [3] Willard, of Jamaica. It will be noticed, that Mrs. Treat and Mrs. Melvill, children by the Sherman marriage, left issue; but that Mrs. Child and Mrs. Little, children by the Tyng marriage, did not.

32. [3] Simon,[2] born at Concord, Nov. 23, 1649, m. first, about 1679, Martha, daughter of Richard and Joanna Jacob, of Ipswich, and was there until 1680 or after; second, July 25, 1722, Priscilla Buttolph, of Salem; and died June 23, 1731.* His children were all by the first marriage; viz.: —

* In the notice of Deacon Simon Willard (*ante*, p. 358), it should have been mentioned, that in April, 1730, he made the following conveyance to his eldest son, Jacob; viz., "All and singular my right that I have in serving the country in the Narraganset war, under my hon^ble^ father, Major Simon Willard; and all my part of my right that draws from my hon^ble^ father, Simon Willard." This would seem to refer to the "Narraganset expedition," in which the troops marched from Dedham to the Narraganset country, Dec. 9, 1675, and remained in the field for several weeks after the battle, which took place on Dec. 19. There is no reason to believe that Major Willard was in this expedition; as, in the first place, he could not have

33. [3] Jacob [3] [158], born Sept. 17 (1680?); m., May 3, 1704, Sarah Flint, daughter of Ensign Edward Flint, of Salem. Jacob was living in 1737. Mrs. Willard survived her husband, but died before September, 1743.

34. [3] Josiah [3] [165], born at Salem, May 24, 1682; m. first, Nov. 24, 1708, Jane Jacob, daughter of John and Jane Jacob; second, Susanna Parkman, March 16, 1726–7. He is entitled Captain Josiah. He died at Salem, April 8, 1731. Susanna died at Boston, January or February, 1750. Captain Willard seems to have been an active member of the Second (East) Church in Salem.

35. [3] Richard [3] [173], born at Salem, Jan. 26, 1686–7; m., Oct. 20, 1714, Hannah Butman, of Salem. In several instruments he is called "mariner." He died in 1734, leaving a widow, Hannah, who administered on his estate.

36. [3] Simon,[3] born at Salem, Nov. 4, 1685; and died Sept. 6, 1687.

37. [3] Martha,[3] born at Salem, Jan. 27, 1683; m., Sept. 24, 1718, John Sterns. They had a son born at Salem, Aug. 17, 1719.

38. [4] Henry,[2] who was born at Concord, June 4, 1655; m., first, Mary Lakin, of Groton, d. about 1688; second, Dorcas Cutler, about 1689, who survived her husband. He died

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been spared from his command on the western frontier of Middlesex; and then we know from Gookin (*ante*, pp. 262–3), that, on Dec. 13, the Major, instead of being in the Narraganset country, — which the troops were approaching, having crossed over Patuxet River the day before, — was journeying to Chelmsford, in the opposite direction, with Gookin and Apostle Eliot, on their embassy of love to the Wamesit Indians, and thence to Concord to look after the welfare of the Nashobah Indians, for which purpose they had been appointed a committee by the Council.

The Massachusetts troops were "under the command of Major Appleton;" and the next higher officer was General Winslow, of Plymouth Colony, who was commander-in-chief.

Perhaps the Major's son Simon was one of the Essex troop under the father's command, in March, 1676; and the son, in his extreme age, may have erroneously spoken of the Narraganset war, — *this particular expedition*, — when he should have spoken of Philip's war. It is true that fresh troops were sent from Boston in January, who remained a while in the Narraganset country, in the severe weather, and pursued the enemy into the woods between Marlborough and Brookfield, where they joined the Worcester-County Indians, and were probably among those who attacked Lancaster and Groton; but this could not be termed the Narraganset war with any propriety.

in 1701. There was issue of both marriages. His children were, —

39. [4] Henry [3] [180], son of Henry and Mary, born at Groton,* April 11, 1675; m. first, July 21, 1698, Abigail Temple, of Concord; second, Sarah Nutting, who was his wife in December, 1710. Henry was living in 1747. His residence was partly in Groton, but chiefly in Lancaster.

40. [4] Simon [3] [193], son of Henry and Mary, born in Groton, Oct. 8, 1678; m. Mary Whitcomb. He lived in Lancaster, and died in 1706. On Dec. 12, 1706, she m. Samuel Farnsworth, who died in 1727. His widow survived him.

41. [4] John [3] [199], son of Henry and Mary, born Sept. 3, 1682;* m. —— Anne Hill, who is described, in a deed, as granddaughter of "Mrs. Mary Edmunds, daughter to Major Simon Willard, Esquire." He was the first town-treasurer in Harvard; † and died there, April, 1761, leaving a good estate. Mrs. Willard died there, Sept. 25, 1753.

42. [4] Hezekiah [3] [201], son of Henry and Mary, born at Lancaster; m., as early, at least, as 1712, Anna Wilder, daughter of Thomas Wilder, of Lancaster. He was first selectman in Harvard in 1732; again in 1733, 1738; and perhaps in other years. He was living in 1746. I have not the time of his death. The Harvard records contain the death of "Anna Willard, Jan. 10, 1746, æt. fifty-six;" and the church records, "Ann Willard, Oct. 9, 1753, æt. seventy."

43. [4] Joseph [3] [209], son of Henry and Mary, born at Lancaster about 1686; m. —— Elizabeth Tarbell, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth (Blood) Tarbell, of Groton, where she was born, Aug. 19, 1691. Mr. Willard, as well as his brothers, John, Hezekiah, and James, was early a municipal officer in the new town of Harvard. He died there, July 30, 1761, æt. seventy-five. His wife survived him until Dec. 23, 1763, in the seventy-third year of her age.

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* I suppose that all the children of [4] Henry,[2] except Henry, Simon, Mary, and perhaps John, were born at Lancaster; but, owing to the great imperfection in the records, I am not entirely able to verify it. His principal place of residence was at Still River, then in Lancaster, afterwards included in Harvard.

† The principal part of Harvard was taken from Lancaster.

44. [4] Samuel [3] [219], the eldest son of Henry and Dorcas, born at Lancaster, May 31, 1690. He was the eldest son by the second marriage; m., Aug. 19, 1717, Elizabeth Phelps, daughter of Edward and Ruth Phelps, born Jan. 27, 1689–90. He was largely engaged in business in Lancaster; and, inheriting a competent real estate, became a very extensive landholder in Harvard and Lancaster. Among other estates, he purchased the former homestead of his grandfather, Major Simon Willard, which is still in possession of the family.* He represented the town of Lancaster in the General Court; was a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, in the County of Worcester; and, for many years, colonel of a regiment, and in command thereof at the reduction of Louisbourg in 1745. He died suddenly, at Lancaster, November, 1752, in the sixty-third year of his age. Mrs. Willard died Sept. 28, 1770, in her eightieth year.

45. [4] James [3] [227], son of Henry and Dorcas, born at Lancaster; m., about 1718, Hannah Houghton, born about 1688. He was early a town-officer in Harvard, and died there, Oct. 11, 1769, "aged." † His wife died Nov. 20, 1754, æt. sixty-six.

46. [4] Josiah [3] [234], son of Henry and Dorcas, born at Lancaster in 1693; m., about 1715, Hannah Wilder, daughter of John, and grand-daughter of Thomas Wilder, who was among the early settlers in Lancaster. Josiah was a man of some consideration, as one of the first settlers and principal officers in Lunenburg, as a captain on the frontiers in excursions against the Indian enemy, and afterwards colonel and commander at Fort Dummer (Brattleborough, Vt.). In public and private life, he sustained an excellent reputation, and was of good service to his country. He died, on a journey from home, Dec. 8, 1750, in his fifty-eighth year. He is thus described in a public journal: "He was grandson to the renowned Major Simon Willard; and was a gentleman of superior natural powers, of a pleasant, happy, and agreeable temper of mind; a faithful

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* *Ante*, p. 237, and note.

† His age must have been seventy-seven at least.

friend; one that paid singular regard to ministers of the gospel; a kind husband and tender parent. . . . His death is a great loss to the public, considering his usefulness in many respects, particularly on the western frontiers, where, in the late wars, in his betrustments, he has shown himself faithful, vigilant, and careful. Of late years he has had the command of Fort Dummer, and always used his best endeavors for the protection of our exposed infant towns; and his loss will be greatly regretted by them."

The Secretary, in a letter to his son, and successor in the command at Fort Dummer, says, "I heartily join with you and your family in your mourning for the death of your father, esteeming it a great public loss." Colonel Willard's wife survived him.

47. [4] Jonathan [3] [244], son of Henry and Dorcas, born at Lancaster about 1695; m., Aug. 17, 1719, Keziah White, of Lancaster; and took up his residence in Lunenburgh. He died about the year 1757, and his widow about 1785.

48. [4] Mary,[3] eldest daughter of Henry and Mary, born at Groton, 1680; m. —— Isaac Hunt. A deed from the children and heirs of [4] Henry [2] and Mary Willard, in May, 1746, is executed, among others, by "Mary Lealand, of Sudbury, widow." I have not the death of the woman, or the marriage or death of either husband.

49. [4] Sarah,[3] daughter of Henry and Mary, born at Lancaster (?); m. Samuel Rogers, an inhabitant of that town. She was unmarried at the time of her father's death in 1701, and was a married woman in 1717 at Lancaster.

50. [4] Abigail,[3] daughter of Henry and Dorcas, born at Lancaster. She was living, September, 1711, and died unmarried.

51. [4] Susanna,[3] daughter of Henry and Dorcas, born at Lancaster; m., March 19, 1723–4, John Moore, of that town.

52. [4] Tabitha,[3] daughter of Henry and Dorcas, born at Lancaster. She died unmarried, probably very early, not being named in her father's will, which was executed in 1700, the year before he died.

53. [5] JOHN,[2] who was born at Concord, February 12, 1656–7, m. Mary Hayward, daughter of John Hayward, of Concord, Oct. 31, 1698; and died Aug. 27, 1726.* His children were,—

54. [5] David,[3] born at Concord, Sept. 9, 1699. He was of feeble capacity, and living in his native town in 1756, unmarried.

55. [5] Jonathan [3] [254], born at Concord, April 28, 1701; m. first, about 1722, Sarah ——, who died Jan. 16, 1729–30; second, Abigail ——. He and his brother Simon seem to have sold *all* their estate in Concord, by their deed of Oct. 29, 1733, and to have removed to Sheffield, in Berkshire, not long after.† Before he left Concord, Jonathan conveyed to his relative, Simon Davis, all his right in lands granted by the General Court to "a certain number of persons that went in the long march, or were engaged in the Narraganset fight;" and in such further lands as might be granted on that account, belonging "unto the heirs of Thomas Rowlison [Rowlandson], deceased, who was personally engaged in said fight." Jonathan and Simon were amongst the early settlers of Sheffield, and left no one of their name in the old and familiar resort of Concord to transmit the male line of the Major's fifth son to other generations. The descendants are scattered through the interior of New York, and the country west of the Alleghanies.

56. [5] Simon [3] [264], born at Concord, Aug. 7, 1706. After disposing of his estate in Concord, he joined his brother Jonathan in his expedition to Sheffield; and there married, on Nov. 28, 1744, Widow Zeruiah Brewer. He continued his residence in that town, as I suppose, for the remainder of his life. "We hear from Sheffield, that, on the 19th of last month (Oct. 19, 1766), the house of Mr. Simon Willard was struck with lightning, and Mr. Willard in a moment struck dead. He was about fifty-four years

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* His books were appraised at twenty pounds. Though this may appear a small sum, there may not have been libraries in the country towns of equal size, save among the ministers.

† Jonathan acknowledged this deed at Brookfield, Oct. 30. Perhaps he was then on his way to his new abode. Simon's acknowledgment was taken at Concord on Nov. 29.

old." * This account from the "News-Letter" must refer to the Simon from Concord, with a mistake as to his age; he being sixty instead of fifty-four years of age. There was no other descendant of the Major then living, of that name, to whom it could refer.

57. [5] Mercy,[3] born at Concord, June 4, 1704; m. —— William Wheeler, of Concord. They had several children. A son, Willard Wheeler, was born in that town, Dec. 24, 1734, and graduated at Harvard College, 1755. In June, 1772, he had leave of the Legislature to prefix his father's Christian name to his own. Some years after he graduated, William Willard Wheeler went to England, and took holy orders. He preached at Cambridge; at Georgetown, Me.; Newport, R.I.; and afterwards became Rector of St. Andrew's Church at Scituate, and Trinity Church, Marshfield, Mass. In the Revolution, his timid disposition prevented him from siding with either party. In theology, Bishop Parker did not consider him sound in the faith. "He is so much in Freeman's plan," says the bishop, "that he would not join his brethren in this State in protesting against Freeman's ordination." † He married a daughter of Rev. Mr. Thompson, of Scituate; and died there, Jan. 14, 1810. Mrs. Wheeler died in 1827. A sufficient account of Wheeler will be found in Bartlet's "Frontier Missionary," and Deane's "History of Scituate."

58. [6] Daniel,[2] ‡ who was born at Concord, Dec. 29, 1658, m., first, Hannah Cutler, daughter of John and Mehitable Cutler; and, she dying Feb. 22, 1690–1, m., second, Mary Mills, daughter of Jonathan Mills, of Braintree (now Quincy), Jan. 4, 1692–3. Daniel died Aug. 23, 1708. His widow m. David Melvill. The children were, —

59. [6] Daniel [3] [269], eldest son and child of Daniel and Mary, born at Braintree (?), Oct. 3, 1693; baptized there, Oct. 8, by Rev. Mr. Fisk; m., first, —— Abigail Mather, daughter

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* "News-Letter," Nov. 20, 1766.

† Rev. Dr. Freeman, of King's Chapel, Boston.

‡ The children of Daniel will be found very much out of chronological order: the explanation is given in the first note to p. 365.

of Rev. Cotton Mather, born June 14, 1694, and died in childbed, Sept. 26, 1721, æt. twenty-seven; second, Nov. 8, 1722, Ann Thomas. He is described at one time as "ship-chandler in Boston, in Hanover Street, near the Orange-tree;" at another, "merchant, on the Long Wharf, Boston." He died in 1727, aged thirty-four.

60. [6] Benjamin,[3] son of Daniel and Mary, born at Braintree, July 10, 1698. I know nothing further of this son, unless, as I am pretty confident, he is the one who, — Nov. 2, 1730, — calling himself of "Virginia, mariner," gave to his "brother, Edward Willard, of Kingston, tailor" (in the Island of Jamaica), a power of attorney to "recover debts," &c., acknowledged Nov. 12, enrolled Nov. 19; and the one who was witness to a promissory note, dated "Braintree, Oct. 12, 1734."

61. [6] Edward,[3] son of Daniel and Mary, born at Braintree, Feb. 28, 1696–7. He was living in Boston in May, 1724, when he conveyed his share (one-ninth) of the Rutland estate, inherited from his father. In this deed, he entitles himself "tailor." I find no marriage of this son on any of our records. In Colonial and Provincial times, the intercourse between Massachusetts and the Island of Jamaica was constant and frequent. Many of our people resorted to Jamaica for the purposes of trade; and many, merchants and others, took up a permanent residence on the island. Among the latter seems to have been this Edward, as vouched by the Jamaica records; viz.: —

1. Edward Willard, of Port Royal (now Kingston), tailor, married Mary Tool, of Port Royal, widow, May 24, 1726.

2. Daniel, son of Edward and Mary Willard, buried May 3, 1728.

3. Mary, daughter of Edward and Mary Willard, born Sept. 16, 1728; baptized Jan. 9; and buried Jan. 16, 1729.

4. Mary, wife of Edward Willard, buried Nov. 13, 1728.

5. Edward Willard, of Kingston, tailor, and Elizabeth Gibson, of Kingston, widow, were married Aug. 30, 1730.

6. Edward Willard, power of attorney from his brother Benjamin (see Benjamin, *supra*).

7. Edward Willard and another to Robert Honez, and a reconveyance to the grantors to vest in Edward some property previously vested in him and his wife, — 1731 or 1732.

8. Edward Willard and wife, mortgage, 1732 or 1733.

9. 1733, and again in 1734, Chancery Decrees, Pratter and another against Crawford and another, executors of Edward Willard.

10. Elizabeth Willard (the widow?) was buried Jan. 22, 1734.

We may assume, with some certainty, that Edward was the son of [6] Daniel [2] and Mary (Mills) Willard. He remembered his parents in the names he bestowed on his two children. So far as can be determined by the Kingston records, this branch of the family died out with Edward, in 1733, — perhaps victims to the climate of Jamaica, so fatal to the New-England constitution.

62. [6] George,[3] son of Daniel and Mary, born at Boston, Oct. 22, 1694. I have no further account of him.

63. [6] Anna,[3] eldest daughter and child of Daniel and Hannah, born at Charlestown, Nov. 9; and died there, Nov. 24, 1684.

64. [6] Anna,[3] daughter of Daniel and Hannah, born at Sudbury, May 5, 1686; m. first, Aug. 7, 1707, at Boston, Timothy Le Fevre; second, Oct. 7, 1718, John Bosworth.

65. [6] Elizabeth,[3] daughter of Daniel and Hannah, born at Sudbury, March 10, 1687–8; m. Oct. 2, 1707, at Sudbury, Phineas Rice, son of Joseph and Sarah Rice. They had issue. A son of theirs was in one of the expeditions against Canada, in the "old French war."

66. [6] Mary,[3] eldest daughter of Daniel and Mary, born at Boston, Nov. 16, 1695. It is said that she married, first, a West Indian, by the name of Schuyler, or Kyler, who lived freely, after the West-Indian manner; and that he died, leaving one son, who died in infancy. Her second husband was Dr. Edward Ellis, of Boston, son, probably, of Dr. Robert and Elizabeth Ellis, of Boston. Dr. Robert Ellis died there in 1720. There were three daughters, — Maria, Sarah, and Elizabeth, — but no sons, of the marriage with

Dr. Edward Ellis. His wife died at Boston, "on the night of the illumination" for the capture of Louisbourg, in 1745. [6]Maria[4] Ellis m. Capt. Watmough, of the British army. [6]Sarah[4] Ellis m. Isaac Deschamps, King's Solicitor, Nova Scotia. [6]Elizabeth[4] Ellis m., first, Peter Dordon, of Amsterdam, Holland, who died, leaving one daughter, the wife of "Silas Deane, of Newport, R.I.;" [*sic*] second, m. Peter Francis Christian De les Dernier, and had two daughters, — viz., [6]Harriett,[5] who m. William Pepperell Prescott, of Newcastle; and [6]Maria,[5] who m. Pearson Titcomb. A daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Titcomb became the wife of Hon. Mr. Fuller, a late representative in Congress from Maine.* Mrs. Prescott was living at Dedham in 1854, at the age of seventy-eight, but has since died. She is described as having been a very intelligent lady.

67. [6]Susannah,[3] daughter of Daniel and Mary, born at Boston, Nov. 15, 1700, and is probably the same Susannah who m. Matthias Cowdry, Sept. 3, 1724.

68. [6]William,[3] son of Daniel and Mary, born at Boston, 1702 (?); baptized there, Feb. 1, 1701–2. I have no further account of this William, whom I assume to be the son of Daniel.

69. [6]Sarah,[3] daughter of Daniel and Mary, born at ——, June 12, 1703; died at Braintree, Aug. 31, 1704.

70. [6]Mehitable,[3] daughter of Daniel and Mary, born at Boston, Jan. 12, 1705–6; m., March 12, 1728, John Baxter, who was born Jan. 10, 1698. A descendant of this marriage is the wife of Lemuel Shattuck, Esq., of Boston.

70[a]. [6]Sarah,[3]† daughter of Daniel and Mary, born at ——.

In 1731, May 7, calling herself of Boston, single woman, she conveys to Dr. William Douglass her part (one-ninth) of the Rutland estate. This must have been *the* one of Mr.

* I do not vouch for the accuracy of the statements regarding the first husband of Mrs. Ellis, and the marriages and descendants of her three daughters, having had no opportunity of verifying them; but I am inclined to believe in their substantial accuracy. Mrs. Dordon received a regular annuity from her cousin, Henry Hope, the banker, during his lifetime; and it was continued to her after his death.

† I have not the date of the second Sarah's birth; but it was either next before or next after the birth of Mehitable. Daniel, the father, died in 1708.

Daniel Willard's daughters, who married, about 1735, (William?) Hope, a branch of the ancient family of Craighall, descended from Sir Thomas Hope, of Kerse. They had two children, — [6]Henry Hope,[4] born at Braintree, that part which is now Quincy,* in 1736; and [6]Harriett Hope,[4] his sister. According to one account, Mr. and Mrs. Hope "went to England, and were lost at sea:"† while, by another account, coming down in the Baxter family, they visited Holland by the way of the West Indies; and, on the return voyage, Mr. Hope died, and was buried at sea; and Mrs. Hope died before the arrival of the vessel at Martha's Vineyard, near Holmes's Hole, where she was buried. Henry was left in the care of Dr. Edward Ellis, of Boston, who married his aunt Mary; and at one time, with his sister Harriett, was an inmate of the family of his uncle and aunt — Mr. and Mrs. John Baxter. At the age of seventeen, or thirteen according to the London account, he went to England, and was in the London house of Gurnell, Hoare, and Co., until 1760, when he went to Amsterdam to visit his uncles of the celebrated mercantile and banking house of Hope and Co., who were so much pleased with their American relative, that they took him into partnership. His uncle, Adrian Hope, died in 1780; and the whole of the vast business of the concern devolved on this nephew. He relinquished business when the French invaded Holland in 1794, having lived at Amsterdam thirty-four years, and settled in England. He died in London, Feb. 25, 1811, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, unmarried, and leaving an estate of five million eight hundred thousand dollars. Harriett Hope remained with her relatives, the Baxter family, until she sailed for Europe, where she became the wife of a Mr. Goddard, and died, leaving three daughters, the eldest

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* In the account of his death in the "Gentleman's Magazine," it is stated that he was born at Boston; but it rests on the contemporaneous authority of President John Adams, that he was born on "Payne's Hill," in Quincy.

† The late Joseph Baxter's statement. He and Henry Hope were cousins-german. The late Mary Baxter had a vivid recollection of her cousin, Harriett Hope.

of whom married John Williams Hope, son of Rev. Mr. Williams, of Cornwall, and Henry Hope's successor in the Amsterdam house, as well as to one-half of his estate; the second married John Langston, Esq., of Sanden House, Oxfordshire; and the youngest married Admiral Sir Charles Pole, Bart. They all left children. The remaining half of Henry Hope's estate was divided among his nieces and their children.

[6] Henry Hope [4] was distinguished for amenity of disposition, open-handed, unbounded liberality, sound and discriminating judgment, and a remarkable talent for business. He possessed also good literary accomplishments in English literature, and a taste for the fine arts, of which he was a munificent patron. His collection of pictures was very celebrated.

As the great banker of his time, united with his reputation as a sound and sagacious man, and possessing attractive personal accomplishments, he drew to his instructive society the most noted persons in Europe. "He was visited by all distinguished travellers, even by crowned heads. His acquaintance was courted by all ranks of people: at the Exchange, he was the chief object of attention; the men of business formed themselves in a circle around him; and foreign ministers pressed forward to speak with him on the financial concerns of their respective countries. The magnificence of his table, and his general mode of living, were suitable to the splendor of his situation."

71. [7] Joseph,[2] who was born at Lancaster, Jan. 4, 1660–1, took up his residence in London, and was a sea-captain in the London trade. He married, and had children: —

72. [7] John,[3] of London. His father, [7] Joseph,[2] owned one thirty-third part, or one share, of the township of Rutland, with some deductions; and June 29, 1721, John, entitling himself of London, conveyed his one-half of this share to Thomas Fayerweather. His father was not then living. I have no further account of this son, except that in 1723, in the deed next mentioned, he calls himself of Boston.

73. [7] Joseph,[3] of London. I have no information concering this son, beyond the fact that his brother John, describing himself of Boston, and "one of the grandchildren" of the Major, on May 25, 1723, conveyed to Estes Hatch a moiety of one share in the Rutland township; from which I infer that his brother Joseph was not then living.

74. [8] Benjamin,[2]* who was born at Lancaster in 1665, m. Sarah Lakin, daughter of Ensign John Lakin, and Mary his wife, born at Groton, Feb. 4, 1661 (1662). Their children:—

75. [8] Joseph [3] [275], born at Sudbury (?) in the year 1693; m., in 1715 or 1716, Martha Clarke, both called of Framingham. She was daughter of Capt. Isaac Clarke, of Framingham, who lived to the age of a hundred and two. Joseph took up his residence at Hassanimisco as early as 1717, was one of the petitioners for its purchase, an early town-officer when it was incorporated by the name of Grafton, had the chief seat in the "meeting-house," and was a major in the Worcester regiment. He died at Grafton, Oct. 18, 1774, in the eighty-second year of his age. "Very few men," says a contemporary account, "have left behind them a fairer moral character, — eminent for his piety, early in his profession, unshaken in his faith, steady in his private devotion, and a constant attendant on divine worship. Nature had blessed him with a hale constitution, which he assiduously cultivated and preserved," † &c. His descendants, at the time of his death, were twelve children, eighty grandchildren, twenty-three great-grandchildren, and one child of the fifth generation. His widow died at Grafton in 1794, æt. a hundred. At the time of her death, the descendants were the twelve children, ninety grandchildren, two hundred and six great-grandchildren, and forty-five of the fifth generation; total, three hundred and fifty-three!

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* He resided in Charlestown in 1690; was of Sudbury in 1693, and perhaps earlier; of Framingham as early, at least, as 1710. In May, 1717, he calls himself of Framingham; and, in December of the same year, of Hassanimisco (of various orthography), afterwards incorporated as the town of Grafton. He was one of the petitioners, in 1725, to purchase this place from the Indians.

† He left his "silver-hilted sword" to his grandson, Thomas Rice Willard (Harvard College, 1774), and, should he die without heirs (as he did), then "to some one nearest of kin of the name of Willard."

76. [8] Simeon[3] [287], born at Sudbury, April 27, 1701; m., June 10, 1729, Phœbe Newton, of Westborough. He lived successively in Grafton, Petersham, Wilbraham (then a part of Springfield), and Longmeadow. He died at an advanced age.

77. [8] Sarah,[3] an early child of the marriage, born at Sudbury (?); m., Jan. 24, 1711, Thomas Pratt, of Framingham, who, in 1724, was of "Hasanimisco, part of Sutton." His will was proved in 1761. The wife is not named in the will. They left issue. — See Barry's "Framingham."

78. [8] Margaret,[3] born at Sudbury (?); m., first, Nehemiah How, perhaps a descendant of John and Mary How, who were early of Sudbury; second, James Miller.

79. [8] Esther,[3] born at Sudbury (?); m. Thomas Boyle.

80. [8] Hannah,[3] born at Sudbury, 1703 or 1707;* m. Captain Ephraim Brigham, Marlborough, in 1730.

81. [9] Jonathan,[2] who was born at Lancaster, Dec. 14, 1669, m. Mary,† daughter of Major Thomas and Patience Browne, of Sudbury, Jan. 8, 1690–1, born there Nov. 25, 1668. Jonathan died in 1706, and was then called of Sudbury. Mrs. Willard survived her husband and father. The children of this marriage were, —

82. [9] Jonathan[3] [297], born at Roxbury, June 27, 1693; m., first, Elizabeth Whitney, born about 1690, daughter of John and Mary (Hapgood) Whitney (of Framingham). She died at Worcester, in 1728, æt. thirty-eight. Second, Jan. 23, 1729, Mary Cooke, daughter of Samuel Cooke, of Cambridge. Jonathan's maternal grandfather, Major Thomas Browne, devised to this "well-beloved grandson . . . all and singular his housing, lands, messuages, tenements, &c., in New England." He also had, in right of his mother (one

* The Sudbury records give Hannah, daughter of Benjamin and Sarah, born Jan. 19, 1703, according to the minutes of my examination. The late Dr. Stearns, town-clerk of Sudbury, in his manuscript "Genealogical Register" of that town, has Hannah, daughter of Benjamin and Sarah, born in 1702, which may be a mistake for [9] Jonathan's [2] daughter; and another Hannah, daughter of Benjamin and Hannah, born in 1707. Mrs. Brigham, perhaps, was born in 1707; the Hannah of 1703 dying in infancy or early childhood. *Quære.*

† There is an accidental error in Mr. Barry's carefully prepared "History of Framingham," in the statement that Mary *Brewer* was the wife.

of seven daughters), one-seventh part of all the Major's estates in the parishes of Hedcorn and Frentlenden, in the county of Kent.

Possessed of this handsome estate, he seems to have been prompted to indulge in that migratory spirit, which, if not peculiar to our people, is said to be a strong characteristic, and is amusingly illustrated in the veritable pages of Knickerbocker. We find him residing at Sudbury one or more times, at Cambridge, Roxbury, Charlestown, Worcester, Framingham probably, and Sherburne, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay. The children by the first wife inherited property from their grandfather Whitney.

I have not ascertained the date of Mr. Willard's death, or that of his second wife.

83. [9] Mary.[3] See [9] Hannah,[3] *infra.*

84. [9] Hannah [3] was living in 1718. The Rutland deed, of April 14, 1714, being a division of the township between the heirs of Major Simon Willard and others, with their associates, was signed by [9] Jonathan,[3] "for himself and sister [9] Hannah,"[3] and acknowledged Aug. 6, 1718. Previous to this, however (May 20, 1718), Hannah, describing herself "of Boston," conveyed to him all her right in the Rutland township. No mention being made of Mary or Hepzibah in these deeds, I infer that they were not living at either date.

85. [9] Hepzibah.[3] See [9] Hannah,[3] *supra.*

86. Mary,[2]* born in England; m., about 1649, Joshua Edmunds, born about 1624, son of Walter and Dorothy Edmunds, of Charlestown. I find his name in Concord, and afterwards in Charlestown. Mrs. Edmunds probably died before 1653; and Mr. Edmunds died Nov. 5, 1683, æt. fifty-nine. Their son, —

87. Samuel Edmunds,[3] was born at Concord, Feb. 16, 1650. A

* With regard to the descendants of the Major's daughters, I would here remark, that I have made no examination of records concerning them, as to births, marriages, or deaths. Whatever is set down more than names is merely incidental.

grand-daughter of Mrs. Edmunds, as we have seen at p. 373, became the wife of [4]John [3] Willard, of Lancaster.

88. Elizabeth,[2] born, probably, in England; died early and unmarried, as is supposed.

89. Elizabeth,[2] uncertain whether born in Old or New England; m. Robert Blood, of Concord, April 8, 1653. She died Aug. 29, 1690, at Concord, her husband surviving her. Their children were, —

90. Mary Blood,[3] born at Concord, March 1, 1655. m John Buttrick Jr
91. Elizabeth Blood,[3] born at Concord, June 14, 1656. Saml. Buttrick
92. Sarah Blood,[3] born at Concord, Aug. 1, 1658; m. Daniel Coburn, of Chelmsford, June 18, 1685.
93. Robert Blood,[3] born at Concord, Feb. 2, 1659–60.
94. Simon Blood,[3] born at Concord, July 5, 1662.
95. Josiah Blood,[3] born at Concord, April 6, 1664; was living, April, 1714.
96. John Blood,[3] born at Concord, Oct. 29, 1666.
97. Ellen Blood,[3] born at Concord, April 14, 1669.
98. Samuel Blood,[3] born at Concord, Oct. 16, 1672.
99. James Blood,[3] born at Concord, Nov. 3, 1673.
100. Ebenezer Blood,[3] born at Concord, Feb. 15, 1676.
101. { Jonathan Blood,[3] * born, &c.
{ Abigail Blood,[3] * born, &c.

Robert Blood, the father, had a large estate, as well as a large family; and his descendants are very numerous.

102. Dorothy,[2] place of birth uncertain; died in infancy or early youth.

103. Sarah[2] was born in 1642, and m. Nathaniel Howard, of Chelmsford, afterwards of Charlestown, July 2, 1666. She died in Charlestown, Jan. 22, 1678.† He m., second,

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* I have a memorandum of these two names, but have made no examination to enable me to vouch for its correctness.

† Nathaniel Howard, of Chelmsford, will proved Feb. 17, 1709, mentions children *Nathaniel*, Jonathan, Samuel, *Sarah;* Rachel, wife of Samuel Richardson; Rebecca, Mercy, and Benjamin. The first-named Nathaniel seems to have been the one who was the husband of Sarah. *Quære.*

Sarah Parker, July 1, 1678, and had issue. The children of Nathaniel and Sarah (Willard) Howard were, —

104. Sarah Howard,[3] born at Charlestown, Sept. 30, 1667; m. Benjamin Parker.

105. Nathaniel Howard,[3] born at Charlestown, Nov. 9, 1671.

106. Mary Howard,[3] born at Charlestown, May 16, 1673.

There may have been other children.

107. Abovehope,[2] born at Concord, Oct. 30, 1646; died in Lancaster, Dec. 23, 1663, unmarried.

108. Mary,[2] the younger of that name, who was born at Concord in September, 1653, married Cyprian Stevens, of Lancaster, Jan. 22, 1671. He survived his wife Mary, and was again married. The children of Cyprian and Mary (Willard) Stevens were, —

108[a]. Mary Stevens,[3] born at Lancaster, Nov. 22, 1672; m. Captain Samuel Wright, — then of Sudbury, afterwards of Rutland, — son of Edward and Hannah (Axtell) Wright, of Sudbury. He was born at Sudbury, April 9, 1670; and died at Rutland, Jan. 15, 1739–40. Mrs. Wright died there, May 18, 1739. Before removing to Rutland, he purchased of his wife's uncle, Deacon [3] Simon [2] Willard, of Salem, his share of the Rutland township.

Mr. and Mrs. Wright's daughter Abigail, born at Sudbury, married Rev. [2] Samuel [4] Willard, of Biddeford, as will be more particularly referred to in a notice of the children of Major [2] John [3] Willard [138], of the Island of Jamaica.

109. Simon Stevens was born at Boston, Aug. 13, 1677 or 1678.* His parents probably fled to that place on the destruction of Lancaster in Philip's war. He m. Mary Wilder, daughter of Nathaniel and Mary Wilder, of Lancaster. She was born at Sudbury, May 12, 1679, whither her parents resorted on the destruction of Lancaster.

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* In the Boston Book, the record is both ways.

Mr. Stevens resided in Lancaster until middle life, and then removed to Plainfield in Connecticut, where I find him as early as 1723, and until 1731 or later. He returned to Massachusetts, and took up his residence in Marlborough, at which place I suppose he died at an advanced age, leaving a numerous posterity. The only baptisms of his children on the Lancaster church-records are Simon, 1708; Jonathan, 1710; Nathaniel, 1712; Elizabeth, 1715; Nathaniel, 1716; Dorothy, 1719. As his wife joined in a conveyance made by her husband in January, 1725, and is not named in a subsequent conveyance (June, 1729), it may be that she died at Plainfield between those two dates.

109[a]. Dorothy Stevens,[3] died in infancy.

109[b]. Elizabeth Stevens,[3] born about 1681; m. Captain Ephraim Wilder, of Lancaster, born at ——, in April, 1676, two months after the destruction of Lancaster. Mr. and Mrs. Wilder were highly respected in their generation. He was a brave officer; did good service in the Indian war on the frontier; represented the town in the General Court; and was chosen a member of the Governor's Council, but declined the honor. He died at Lancaster, Dec. 14, 1769, æt. ninety-three years and eight months; and Mrs. Wilder died May 30, 1769, æt. eighty-eight, after having lived in the state of wedlock eleven years, at least, beyond the golden wedding-day. They had one son, — Captain Ephraim; and at least five daughters, — viz., Elizabeth, Martha, Dorothy, Eunice, and Susannah. This son was the father of Katherine Wilder, who became the wife of Deacon [2]William[5] Willard, of Petersham; the parents of Rev. Dr. Samuel Willard, of Deerfield; and others.

109[c]. Joseph Stevens,[3] born, perhaps, before Lancaster was resettled; m. Prudence Rice, daughter of John Rice, of Sudbury. He resided some years in Sudbury; then in Framingham;* was of Lancaster in 1716 and 1718, when he had children Joseph and Isaac baptized; and calls himself of Lancaster in 1719. The next year, probably, he removed to Rutland, and, after the incorporation of that

* Rev. Mr. Barry's "History of Framingham," p. 395.

town, became prominent as a citizen, holding various municipal offices, and a deaconship in the church. He had children born at Sudbury, Framingham, and Rutland, — eleven in all. When the Indians attacked the latter town in 1723, they killed two of his sons, — Samuel and Joseph. They were with their father, who was at work in the field, but powerless to render assistance, and barely escaping with his own life. Phineas,* the eldest son, and his little brother Isaac, were taken captive, and carried to Canada. The afflicted father followed them to Canada, and finally succeeded in securing their redemption.

Phineas married, and settled in Charlestown, N.H., and was the "Captain Phineas Stevens" so well known for his bravery in defending the fort there, with some thirty men, against the combined force of French and Indians, four hundred in number. For his bravery and conduct on this occasion, Commodore Knowles, who then commanded the British fleet on the Boston station, "presented him with an elegant sword." He died of a fever at Cape Breton, Feb. 6, 1756. Deacon Joseph Stevens died at Rutland, in 1769, at a very advanced age.

110. Hannah,[2] born at Lancaster, Oct. 6, 1666; m. Captain Thomas Brintnall, of Sudbury, May 23, 1693, son of Thomas and Esther Brintnall, of Boston, born Nov. 1, 1669; died at Sudbury, Aug. 2, 1733. His wife survived him many years. Their children were, —

111. Phineas Brintnall,[3] born at Sudbury; m., March 29, 1716, Sybil Rice, daughter of Isaac and Sybil Rice, of Sudbury, born Sept. 9, 1691. The children recorded are, Sybil, born Dec. 19, 1716; Hannah, March 24, 1719; Thomas, Aug. 11, 1721; Isaac, Jan. 20, 1724. Mr. Brintnall died Oct. 23, 1772.

112. Parnel Brintnall,[3] born at Sudbury, Sept. 27, 1696; m. Joshua Parker, of Sudbury.

113. Paul Brintnall,[3] born at Sudbury, March 20, 1701; m. first, Nov. 10, 1724, Mary Rice, daughter of Isaac and Sybil

* Born at Sudbury, 1707.

Rice, born Sept. 16, 1707. The children recorded are, Nathan; Joseph, born Oct. 1, 1727; John, Oct. 22, 1729, died July 18, 1740; Collins, Sept. 7, 1731. He m., second, Dorothy Rice, April 20, 1738. Their children were, Mary, born Dec. 18, 1738, died Aug. 5, 1740; Anna, Jan. 28, 1740; Dorothy, July 31, 1742, m. Dr. Josiah Langdon, Jan. 18, 1775; Thomas, Aug. 10, 1744; Hannah, April 15, 1747, m. Samuel Brigham, June 6, 1776; Jerusha, Jan. 14, 1749, m. Daniel Puffer; Paul, Sept. 26, 1754, died Feb. 24, 1759.

114. Nathaniel Brintnall,[3] born at Sudbury, July 29, 1703; died Sept. 14, 1728.

115. Jerusha Brintnall,[3] born at Sudbury, Oct. 15, 1704; m. Josiah Willis. There was issue of this marriage.

116. Dorothy Brintnall,[3] born at Sudbury, 1705 or 1706; m., May 11, 1736, Deacon Ephraim Moore, son of "John and Abigail Moore, of Sudbury." They removed to Rutland, the town which became the residence of several of the Sudbury families, and where he held various town-offices. The part of the town in which he resided is now included within the bounds of Paxton. His son, Willard Moore, born in April, 1743, married Elizabeth Hubbard, March 18, 1762. Willard Moore was Ensign in 1767; Lieutenant, 1771; and soon afterwards rose to a Majority. He was one of the Committee of the town of Leicester to respond to the letter and pamphlet from Boston, February, 1773; and Chairman of the Committee of "upwards of a thousand respectable inhabitants in the county of Worcester," which, on the 27th of August, 1774, "in a very orderly manner, went to wait on the Hon. John Murray, Esq., in order to converse with him upon his new and unconstitutional appointment and acceptance as Counsellor."*

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* There is a curious vein of New-England humor running through this and scores of other similar narratives. Colonel Murray, who had risen from very humble beginnings, and, up to the time of this appointment, possessed great influence in the county, left home the night before, and never returned. Doubtless he had heard of the proposed visit, and was not prepared to converse with so large a Committee. Boston "Evening Post," September, 1774.

At the battle of Bunker Hill, he was the Major in a new regiment raised at Cambridge, of which Colonel Doolittle was commander. In the absence of the Colonel, the command of the regiment devolved upon Major Willard Moore. "He was early in the field, and took a prominent post of danger. . . . He was wounded, and fell in the second charge of the enemy upon the lines. He received another wound through the body, as his men were carrying him from the field, which proved fatal." * At the foot of that hill reposed in peace the remains of his great-grandfather, Major Simon Willard.

117. Susannah Brintnall,[3] born at Sudbury, April 13, 1709; baptized there May 22, 1709; m. Dr. Fletcher, of Rutland.

Dr. Stearns, in his manuscript "Genealogical Register," gives the date of her birth, 1707.

117[a]. William Brintnall was born at Sudbury, probably next after his sister Parnel; graduated at Yale College, 1721; received a master's degree at Harvard College, 1724; and studied divinity. He preached for some time, but never settled in the ministry. He m. Zeruiah Buckminster, of Framingham. They were dismissed from the church in Sudbury to the church in Framingham. He was an early settler in Rutland,† and preached there as a candidate. I have no further account of him, except the birth of two children given by Dr. Stearns: viz., Buckminster, born Sept. 29, 1730; and Anna, Jan. 12, 1733.

117[b]. Thomas,[3] born at Sudbury.

Dr. Stearns, in his manuscript "Genealogy," and Mr. Barry, in his "History of Framingham," mention Thomas,[3] whose name I have not found on the record. The doctor gives the children of a "Thomas and Martha Brintnall," twelve in number, beginning with April, 1750.

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* See Judge Washburn's very interesting Address, delivered at Leicester, July 4, 1849, pp. 23, 29, 30.

† Barry's "Framingham," p. 72, note.

The foregoing finishes all that I propose to say concerning the children and grandchildren of the Major. It only remains to give a list of his great-grandchildren in the male line, with a few very brief notices.

118. [1] SAMUEL [3] [3]; m. Sarah Clark, and had, —

119. [1] Samuel,[4] born at Saybrook; m. Sarah Stilman, born at Hadley, Dec. 28, 1694, daughter of George and Rebecca (Smith) Stilman, of Hadley. Mr. Stilman resided at Hadley until 1703 or 1704. He was a member of the House of Representatives in Massachusetts, 1698; and died at Wethersfield in 1728, æt. seventy-four, leaving thirteen children and a large estate. Colonel Samuel Willard was a prominent citizen in Saybrook, — "a man of genius, and a distinguished Speaker in the House of Representatives" in Connecticut. He died at Saybrook, Dec. 27, 1779, æt. eighty-seven, surviving his wife, whose death occurred Aug. 2, 1774, æt. seventy-nine. They had seven children.

120. [1] Joseph,[4] born at Saybrook; graduated at Yale College, 1714; Master of Arts, Harvard College, 1723; m. Susanna Lynde, born April 11, 1700, daughter of Nathaniel and Susanna (Willoughby) Lynde. Nathaniel was son of Simon and Hannah (Newdigate) Lynde, and grandson of Enoch and Elizabeth (Digby) Lynde. Mr. Willard was settled at first in Sunderland. After his connection with the church in that town was dissolved, he removed to Rutland; and, having previously sold his inherited estate in that town, he purchased another, "on the Meeting-house Hill," January, 1722, adjoining the homestead of his relative, Captain Samuel Wright, before named. After preaching in Rutland for a considerable time, he was invited to settle there in the ministry. He accepted the invitation, and the day was appointed for his installation. But on the 23d of August, 1723, before the time arrived for his induction into office, the Indians made a sudden and furious attack upon the town, and, among other persons, fell upon Mr. Willard, who had left his house, and was engaged at a distance in hunting. The enemy encountered unexpected resistance from a brave man, — one

> determined not to yield himself a victim to their savage cruelties. We are not told that he made any effort to escape; but it is stated that he fought manfully, and slew the first Indian who ventured to approach, and wounded another, when, overpowered by numbers, he himself was slain * and scalped. The news of the violent death of a peaceful clergyman sent a thrill of horror through the community. Lieutenant-Governor Dummer, in becoming spirit, wrote to M. Vaudreuil, the Governor of Canada, saying, "I have a right to complain that Mr. Willard (who had never been guilty of the facts charged upon Mr. Ralle), who applied himself solely to the preaching of the gospel, was, by the Indians you sent to attack Rutland, assaulted, slain, and *scalped*, and his scalp carried in triumph to Quebec." It was not the Indians, however, who were chiefly to blame for these barbarities (they but followed their ancient practice in war, — one which was just and honorable in their estimate): it was the rulers of a Christian nation, who incited the savage by a premium offered for every trophy of victory.

Mr. Willard left a widow and one son, William. A posthumous son — the one named in the note below — was born about three months after his father's death. The minister's library was appraised at thirty-eight pounds three shillings and fourpence, and his plate at nineteen pounds seven shillings and sixpence; real estate, four hundred and five pounds. In 1729, the General Court granted each of the sons three hundred acres of land. Some years after the death of Rev. Mr. Willard, his widow was married to Rev. Andrew Gardner, who preached in Rutland in 1724, and had previously been settled in Worcester, and subsequently was the minister of Lunenburg. When dismissed from his charge in the latter town, he removed to the neighborhood of Connecticut River, and became one of the early settlers of Winchester, N.H. He had the reputation of

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* In September, 1760, his son [1]Joseph,[5] living in Charlestown, N.H., was taken prisoner by the Indians, with his wife and children. Mrs. Willard was a daughter of Lieut. Moses Willard [195], and was sister to Mrs. Johnson, the famous captive.

being very eccentric,* and, like some other people who are marked by a few peculiarities, seemed to be wholly misunderstood, and hence became unpopular; his good qualities being obscured or diminished in the common mind, while the slight and more obvious defects filled its field of vision. There were several children born of this second marriage.

122. [1] Simon[3] [5] married Mary Gilbert, and had, —

123. [1] Josiah,[4] born at Wethersfield, Feb. 10, 1691–2; m., first, Hannah Montague, daughter of John Montague who m. an Ingraham, and grand-daughter of Richard Montague, originally of Wethersfield, afterwards of Hadley, who m. Abigail Downing, of Norwich, England. Mr. Willard was for many years clerk of the Newington Society, and deacon of the church. His wife seems to have been a weak-minded, nervous, perhaps distempered woman. She "suffered by the witches. She fancied she saw them in the room with her, and would call to her brother Samuel, who, with an old broad-sword, would strike at the place where she thought they were." When she thought they were hit, "they would vanish away, and trouble her no more at that time." Her only children — two daughters, Hannah and Mary — were brought up among the Montagues, at Hadley. There were no sons. He m., second, Elizabeth Filer. Deacon Willard died in the parish of his residence, March 9, 1757. I find no record of births by the second marriage.

124. [1] John,[4] born at Wethersfield, Aug. 20, 1694; m., June 6, 1723, Margaret Smith, daughter of Symon Smith, of Hartford. He left Wethersfield for Canaan, and thence removed to Stockbridge, in Massachusetts Bay. In 1749, they constituted one of the twelve English families in that town. Mr. Willard died at Stockbridge, July, 1762, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, leaving his wife, who survived him many years, and died May 17, 1785, æt. eighty-six.

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* My excellent and faithful friend, the late William Lincoln, of Worcester, in his valuable history of that town, does justice to Mr. Gardner in a few discriminating remarks. He was too catholic himself to allow his judgment to be warped by the indiscriminate censures of others.

While passing the summer of 1845 with my family at Stockbridge, I was told by the venerable Dr. Partridge, that Mrs. Willard was a woman of "great worth." They had a family of six children, whose descendants are much scattered.

125. [1] Benjamin,[4] born at Wethersfield, Oct. 31, 1696; died Sept. 15, 1712, unmarried.

126. [1] Simon,[4] born at Wethersfield, May 28, 1704; and died in early life.

127. [1] Mary,[4] born at Wethersfield; died in early life.

128. [1] Mary,[4] born at Wethersfield, March 29, 1700; m. Jonathan Griswold, of Wethersfield.

129. [1] Hannah,[4] born at Wethersfield, April 27, 1702; m. Jacob Whaples, of Newington Parish. She died May 19, 1795, æt. ninety-three.

130. [1] Ephraim,[4] born at Wethersfield, June 30, 1707; m., Aug. 17, 1738, Lydia Griswold, of Wethersfield. He died March 30, 1766, æt. fifty-eight; and Mrs. Willard survived until April 1, 1770. They had six children.

130[a]. [1] Daniel,[4] born at Wethersfield, July 31, 1710; m. Dorothy Deming, of Newington Parish. Mrs. Willard died April 1, 1770. Mr. Willard lived a score of years beyond the threescore years and ten, dying at Wethersfield, June 1, 1800, æt. ninety. They had eight children.

His grandson, Mr. [1] Daniel [6] Willard, son of the late [1] Daniel [5] and Rhoda (Wells) Willard, now resides in the city of Hartford, and has taken great interest in the subject of this Memoir.

131. [1] Thomas [3] [8], m. Abigail Bradley, and had, —

131[a]. [1] Josiah,[4] born at Guilford, Jan. 24, 1691; m., Oct. 29, 1720, Mary Goodale, daughter of Joseph and Elizabeth Goodale, of Southampton, L.I., born in June, 1695. Mr. Willard died Nov. 24, 1751: his wife died Oct. 17, 1750. They had four children, one of whom was [1] John,[5] of Guilford, who had, by his wife Mary Horton, [1] Julius [6] and [1] John.[6] This last-named gentlemen was of the medical profession. In early manhood he removed to Vermont, and there widened out his sphere of action, taking an

active and leading part in public concerns, and filling various offices of honor and trust, — as a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1793, one of the Council of Censors in 1799, United-States Marshal from 1801 to 1810, and Sheriff of Addison County in 1812. He was a man of character and attainments, and bequeathed to his children the inheritance of a good name, which they have honorably sustained. His last wife, Mrs. Emma (Hart) Willard, whose reputation, not inconsiderable abroad, is co-extensive with the Union at home, still resides at Troy, N.Y., the scene of her labors and success, uniting to the calm wisdom of age the energy of mature years, and much of the freshness of early life, and living in the hearts of a host of loving and grateful pupils, who warm at the mention of her name.

[1] Julius [6] Willard was the father of Hon. Judge John Willard, of Saratoga, N.Y.

132. [1] Daniel,[4] born at Guilford; m. —— Wilcox. They had several children.

133. [1] Jared,[4] born at Guilford; m. Katherine Yates. They had several children.

134. Nathan, born at Guilford; married, and had children.

135. Hannah, born at Guilford; died unmarried.

136. Prudence, born at Guilford; was married, first, to David Greaves; second, to Zachariah Field.

137. Dorothy, born at Guilford.

137[a]. [1] Jerusha,[4] born at Guilford; was married to —— Farnham.

138. [2] John [3] [15]; m. Frances Sherburne, and had, —

139. [2] Samuel,[4] born at Kingston, in the Island of Jamaica, about September, 1705. At the age of seven, he was sent to Boston by his father to receive a New-England education, and be under the kind supervision of his uncle, the Secretary. He was fitted for Harvard College at the Latin Grammar School in Boston, and graduated in 1723.

On leaving college, he returned to his native island, and spent two years with his mother; and was solicited to take orders in the Episcopal church, which he declined, his whole

training having been diverse, and being, "in principle, a Congregationalist." The dissolute character of much of the society of Kingston at that day troubled him; and as he would not remain there in any other than the clerical order, and as there was no church of his denomination in the island, he returned to his adopted home, where, after the manner of New-England youths, while pursuing his professional studies, he taught school.*

He was ordained at Biddeford, Me., Sept. 30, 1730, and became an earnest, zealous, and affectionate preacher. Always zealous, he became more so after the advent of Whitefield; feeling, in his humble estimate of himself, that he had not before been awake to the magnitude of his charge. But this was not so: his contemporaries regarded him as faithful, earnest, and true, from the time he entered his Master's service.

Soon after his ordination, Oct. 29, 1730, he married his second cousin, Abigail Wright, born at Sudbury, Feb. 19, 1707–8, daughter of Captain Samuel and Mary (Stevens) Wright, then of Sudbury, afterwards of Rutland.

He died at the house of Rev. Mr. Rogers, in Kittery, Oct. 25, 1741,† at the age of thirty-six, leaving a widow. There were seven children of this marriage, four of whom survived him; viz., John, afterwards Rev. Dr. John Willard, of Stafford, Conn. (Harvard College, 1751); William, afterwards Deacon William Willard, of Petersham; Joseph, afterwards Rev. Dr. Joseph Willard (Harvard College, 1765), for many years President of the College; and Eunice, who became the wife of Rev. Benjamin Chadwick, of Scarborough ‡ (Harvard College, 1770). Mrs. Willard, Nov. 13,

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* At Lancaster, where he had many relatives.

† He preached the lecture at Kittery on Friday, the 23d of October, and almost immediately after was taken ill of a disorder in the throat, which was very prevalent at that time.

‡ The four surviving children of the Rev. [2] Samuel [4] Willard were all married, and had issue. [2] John [5] had five sons and two daughters. His son Joseph (Harvard College, 1784) was a clergyman in Lancaster, N.H.; and John (Yale College, 1782), a clergyman in Lunenburg, Vt. Dr. Samuel Willard, another son (Harvard Col-

1744, became the wife of Rev. Richard Elvins, of Scarborough. After Mr. Elvins's death, Aug. 12, 1776, she resided for several years with her son Joseph, in Beverly; and, on his removal to Cambridge, took up her residence with her son William, in Petersham, where she died, Sept. 19, 1785. I have the materials for an extended delineation of the character of Mr. Willard in his parochial relations and private walk, in all of which he manifested "the beauty of holiness," with the bearing of a Christian gentleman; also materials for a sketch of his affectionate companion, — a woman held in high esteem for her good qualities of head and heart, and indeed an help-meet for her husband. But these would be out of place in the present volume.

140. [2] William,[4] born at Kingston. He died in February, 1735, "in younger life," and was "interred at Hunt's Bay," Feb. 6.

141. [2] Nancy,[4] born at Kingston; m., first, a Mr. Mosser, a young gentleman belonging to the island, who died about a year after the marriage, when she was only sixteen years of age. I do not find that there was any child by this union. Second, m., May 28, 1727, Captain John Parris, of Kingston. She died there in January, 1730, when she could not have been more than twenty years of age, and was buried on the 23d, leaving, —

141[a]. A son, John Alexander Parris, born Nov. 25; baptized Dec. 18, 1728. What became of John Alexander, I am unable to say. His grandmother, Madam Frances Willard names him in a deed of gift, Dec. 9, 1731; but he is not named in her will of the 24th of the same December. Perhaps he received his portion of the estate in the deed. His father survived Madam Willard, and was one of the

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lege, 1787), lived in Stafford, Conn. One of the grandsons is Hon. John Dwight Willard, whom I have frequently mentioned; another is Dr. Augustus Willard, of Greene, N.Y. [2] William [5] had six sons and five daughters. Rev. Dr. Samuel Willard, of Deerfield (Harvard College, 1803); Cephas, of Petersham; and Solomon, the architect, — are of the number. [2] Joseph [5] had seven sons and six daughters. Among them was Augustus Willard (Harvard College, 1793); and Sidney Willard (Harvard College, 1798), and for many years a Professor in that institution. Eunice had three daughters, two of whom are living in Scarborough.

executors of her will. There was a family of the name of Parris in Westmoreland Parish, the most distant part of the island from Kingston, but whether of the same house house as John Alexander is not manifest.

142. [1] Frances,[4] born at Kingston after 1713; m., first, Major George Augustus Cooke, of the island. In his will, dated May, 1745, enrolled March 27, 1746, after legacies to his mother, Ursula Cooke, of the city of Oxford, widow; his brother John; and his sister, Ann Statia Cooke; and "a gold-headed cane and emerald ring to his worthy friend, William McGee, of Port Royal," — he gives the residue of his estate, amounting to more than eight hundred pounds sterling, to his wife. He had no reverential regard for the clergy, at least for the clergy of the island. "It is my express will and desire," he says, "that no parson or clerk shall attend my funeral, and that I may be interred with all decency." She m., second, in the fall of 1750, Laurence La Mellichamp, who had been a purser in the British navy, and was a merchant at Jamaica. This marriage was not agreeable to the relatives. I think it must have been very disagreeable to her uncle, the "good Secretary."* A friend writes to him from the island, "Your niece, Mrs. Cooke, will be married next week to a purser of a man-of-war, whose name is Mellichamp, so that her nephews and nieces may not expect one farthing of her; for I am informed she makes all over to him, which really surprises me, as he is a man in years, and goutified: but there's no accounting for woman's conduct." After their marriage, they visited England. He died at Kingston in February, 1753. Mrs. Mellichamp died in October, 1757, not more than forty-two or forty-three years of age. There was no issue by either marriage.

I think it a mistake, that this lady made over all her estate to the "goutified purser;" for, when the gout had

* In writing to his niece, he says, "My affection to you prompts me to wish that you could live in a country where you might have better advantages for your soul, and a happy life hereafter, than you can have at Jamaica. I wish you the best of blessings."

done its final work, his inventory exhibited but three hundred and sixty pounds of estate, whereas her estate was appraised at twelve hundred and forty-nine pounds.

Evidently Jamaica was not the place for the *gens:* the soil was not genial. New England was the true home; and [2] Samuel [4] showed his wisdom, apart from his clerical preferences, after the experience of one generation, in returning to the old home of the three preceding generations.

143. [2] Simon [3] [17]; m. widow Elizabeth Walley, and had, —

144. [2] Samuel,[4] born at Boston, Jan. 19, 1702–3, twin with [2] Abigail [4] (*infra*), and died unmarried. Perhaps died in very early life.

145. [2] Abigail,[4] born at Boston, Jan. 19, 1702–3, twin with [2] Samuel [4] (*supra*); m. Dr. Joseph Bridgham, of an early Boston family, Oct. 18, 1722 (Harvard College, 1719). They removed to Plympton, in the County of Plymouth, where he was engaged in the practice of his profession. Mrs. Bridgham survived her husband, and died leaving the character of "a sensible and accomplished lady," and blessed with a large family of children.

146. Katherine, born at Boston, Dec. 20, 1704; m. Rev. Othniel Campbell, a native of Bridgewater (Harvard College, 1728). It is said that he was nearly thirty years old when he entered college! He was ordained over the Second Church in Plympton, now in Carver, in 1734, and was dismissed in 1744. A contemporary account says he was dismissed "for giving way too much to itinerants, though it is doubtful whether his friends or his enemies are the greater number. It is thought he has had hard measure, being, in the main, an honest and good man." About the year 1747, he removed to Tiverton, and died, according to the Cambridge Catalogue, in 1778. He had a daughter, Mrs. Ellis, living in Plympton, who survived him, but whether other children I have not ascertained.

147. [2] George,[4] born at Boston, Feb. 14; died May 29, 1707.

148. [2] Josiah [3] [19], m., first, Katherine Allen; second, Hannah Clarke.

149. [2] Katherine,[4] daughter of Josiah and Katherine, born at Boston, Aug. 15; died Sept. 30, 1716.

150. [2] William,[4] son of Josiah and Katherine, born at Boston, Aug. 14, 1718; died March 31, 1719.

151. [2] William,[4] son of Josiah and Katherine, born at Boston, Nov. 13, 1719. He was of good promise in early youth; but, on or before reaching man's estate, he was pursued by the fiend epilepsy, and, finding no relief at home, visited Holland, spending some time at Amsterdam, seeking relief from the Dutch physicians, but all to no purpose. By reason of the periodical return of his disease, being disabled from attending to any continuous business, he resided in his father's house as a clerk.

William was very industrious when health would permit, "and was esteemed a pious gentleman." Among other estate, his father bequeathed to him two-thirds of his plate and library, and his portrait of Rev. Samuel Willard, father of the Secretary. He appointed him one of his executors, in connection with his wife, and his son-in-law, Henry Gibbs, Esq. After his father's death, he removed his residence to the house of Rev. Mr. Roby, of Lynn. Here his disorder increased in frequency, even to the extent of the entire prostration of his mental powers. In mercy, he was released from suffering before the approach of old age. He died at Mr. Roby's, in 1760, in the forty-first year of his age.

152. [2] Daniel,[4] son of Josiah and Katherine, born at Boston, Dec. 16, 1720. Mr. Willard became a merchant and formed a copartnership with Mr. Shrimpton Hunt, importing largely from England. His social position was all that could be desired; his friends were numerous; he made himself "agreeable" as a member of society; his business prospects were flattering; his health was apparently firm; and he was looking forward to a future of happiness with the lady of his choice, Miss Appleton, of Ipswich, niece of Rev. Dr. Appleton, of Cambridge, when he fell a victim to an acute disorder, in 1745, before he had reached his twenty-fifth birthday. With this interesting son, so it happened, terminated the Secretary's prospect of trans-

mitting his name, through sons, to another generation.

153. [2] George,[4] son of Josiah and Katherine, born at Boston, March 24, 1721–2; and died on the same day.

154. [2] Katherine,[4] daughter of Josiah and Katherine, born Aug. 30; died Nov. 8, 1723.

155. [2] Katherine,[4] the third of that name, daughter of Josiah and Katherine, born at Boston, Sept. 28, 1724; m., May 27, 1747, Henry Gibbs, Esq., Harvard College, 1726; Librarian, 1730 to 1734; Clerk of the General Court; Representative from Salem; and a merchant there. He was son of Rev. Henry Gibbs, of Watertown.

This marriage was very pleasing to her father. In writing to friends, the Secretary says, "I have disposed of my daughter in marriage to Mr. Gibbs, brother-in-law to Mr. Appleton. . . . I have not been at all solicitous to leave a great estate to my children: . . . but my main concern with respect to their partners in marriage is, that they should be persons of real piety; and, unless I could have found some good ground to think that Mr. Gibbs is such a person, no other considerations could have induced me to be favorable to this match. . . . He is a man of so universal good education, that I am persuaded Katy will be very happy with him." And Katy was very happy with him, I doubt not, and he with Katy; for they seem to have possessed genial temperaments, and had a solid foundation of Christian principles on which to build the superstructure of affection. One who was intimate in the family remarked, that "Mrs. Gibbs was a lady of polished education and manners, and supported an amiable character."

Mr. Gibbs died of the measles, Feb. 16, 1759, æt. fifty-two. Mrs. Gibbs was prostrated by the same disease which had been fatal to her brother William, and died in one of its attacks, May 31, 1769, in the forty-fifth year of her age. Their children were three sons; viz., first, Henry (Harvard College, 1766, — a class of some distinction), married and settled in Salem; second, Josiah Willard Gibbs, who was

partly educated by his relative, Rev. Dr. John Willard, of Stafford, Conn. He began business in Boston as an importer and hardware dealer, but prudently removed his stock-in-trade to Hartford before the town was shut up by General Gage; thence to New York; and finally to Philadelphia, where he carried on business on a large scale. His younger brother, William, was in partnership with him.

156. [2] Hannah,[4] daughter of Josiah and Hannah, born at Boston, April 15, 1727; died unmarried.

157. [2] Josiah,[4] son of Josiah and Hannah, born Nov. 26, 1728; died unmarried.

157[a]. [2] Samuel,[4] son of Josiah and Hannah, born at Boston. I have not met with the date of his birth; but I find his baptism on the Old-South-Church Records, under date of Jan. 25, 1729–30.

It is rather remarkable, that, of the Secretary's large family, — six sons and four daughters, — but one son and one daughter survived their father, and they yielded to constitutional infirmities in middle life; that but one child was married; and that, with the death of the second William, the male branch of the Secretary's family disappeared from the earth. The only descendants are those derived from the intermarriage of Mr. Gibbs and Katherine." *

158. [3] Jacob [3] [33], m. Sarah Flint. Their children were, —

159. [3] Sarah,[4] born Feb. 6; baptized at the First Church in Salem, Feb. 18, 1704–5; m., July 28, 1727, Jonathan Peele,† of Salem, born Dec. 16, 1702, son of George and Abigail (Agur) Peele. Mr. Peele died in 1782. Their grandson, Willard Peele, born at Salem, Nov. 30, 1773, received the first honors in the class of 1792, at Harvard College. He m., May 12, 1800, Margaret Appleton, daughter of John Appleton, Esq., of Salem, and grand-

* Prominent among these is the learned Professor Josiah Willard Gibbs, of Yale College. The late Mr. William Gibbs, whom I have mentioned in a preceding page, was a worthy brother of the Professor.

† Mr. Jonathan Peele Dabney (Harvard College, 1811) is their great-grandson.

daughter of Rev. Dr. Appleton, of Cambridge; and established himself in his native town, where he became a highly distinguished and successful merchant. He died June 13, 1835. Mrs. Peele died May 4, 1838. Two of his daughters, Jane Appleton and Margaret Mason, became the wives of the late Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, of Salem, in 1822, 1838. The present Attorney General of Massachusetts, Stephen H. Phillips, Esq., is a son by the first marriage.

160. [3] Simon,[4] born at Plymouth, Nov. 19, 1706; died early.

161. [3] Samuel,[4] born at Salem, June 1, 1709; baptized at the First Church, Oct. 29, 1710; died unmarried.

162. [3] Jacob,[4] born at Salem, Feb. 7; baptized Feb. 11, 1711–12; m. in Newburyport, May 16, 1733, Martha Pope, of Salem. The ceremony was performed by Rev. Matthias Plant, of the Episcopal Church, "by licence." The Secretary, in behalf of this Jacob, it would seem, "a relative of his," addressed a letter to Admiral Warren, who had preferred Jacob to the office of midshipman, from which he wished to be discharged, and return to his family, as he had only enlisted as a volunteer for a few months. There were two children, at least, of this marriage.

163. [3] Elizabeth,[4] born at Salem, Nov. 4; baptized at First Church, Nov. 7, 1714; m. Samuel Goodwin, of Charlestown (?), in 1739.

164. [3] Abigail,[4] born at Salem, Sept. 24; baptized at the First Church, Sept. 29, 1717.

165. [3] Josiah [3] [34], m., first, Jane Jacobs; second, Susanna Parkman; and had, —

166. [3] Josiah,[4] son of Josiah and Jane, born at Salem, Oct. 16; baptized at the First Church, Oct. 29, 1710; of Marblehead, in 1762 and 1764. In a conveyance, 1762, he calls himself the "eldest son, and one of the three children and heirs, of [3] Josiah.[3] No wife is mentioned.

167. [3] Scarlett,[4] son of Josiah and Jane, born at Salem in 1712, and died the same day.

168. [3] Jane,[4] daughter of Josiah and Jane, born at Salem, March 8, 1712–13; baptized same day.

169. [3] Mary,[4] daughter of Josiah and Jane, born at Salem, April 18;

baptized at the First Church, April 24, 1715; m. James (or John?) Strong, April 14, 1737.*

170. [3] Margaret,[4] daughter of Josiah and Jane, born at Salem, Sept. 30; baptized at the First Church, Oct. 6, 1715; m., Dec. 23, 1736, Jacob Hasey.*

171. [3] John,[4] son of Josiah and Jane, born at Salem; baptized at the East Church,† Dec. 23, 1719. In September, 1731, after the death of his father, when "about twelve years of age," he was placed under the guardianship of William Grafton, of Salem.

172. [3] James,[4] son of Josiah and Jane, born at Salem; baptized Sept. —, 1722, at the East Church.

I have no memorandum of any children of Josiah and Susanna (Parkman) Willard, — the second marriage.

173. [3] RICHARD [3] [35], m. Hannah Butnam. Their children were, —

174. [3] Hannah,[4] born at Salem, March 24, 1715–16, and was baptized on the day following, at the First Church.

175. [3] Martha,[4] born at Salem, July 4; baptized at the First Church, July 7, 1717.

176. [3] Richard,[4] born at Salem, July 11; baptized July 12, 1719, at the East Church.

177. [3] George,[4] born at Salem, Jan. 8; baptized at the East Church, Jan. 15, 1720–1; died April 12, 1723.

178. [3] William,[4] } born May 27, 1723; baptized at the East
179. [3] Mehitable,[4] } Church, June 2 following.

180. [4] HENRY [3] (39], m., first, Abigail Temple; second, Sarah Nutting.

Owing to the imperfection of records, I am not now able to give the date of Mrs. Abigail Willard's death, so as to

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* I take these two marriages from an old almanac, in which the entries were made by Mr. Parkman, father of Rev. Ebenezer Parkman. It was very kindly shown to me by Dr. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff.

† Deacon Simon Willard and his sons, after the organization of the East Church in 1718, transferred their relations to it from the First Church, as being more convenient to their respective residences.

designate the maternity of the children; and, for the same reason, I cannot state *positively* when or where [4] Abraham,[4] [4] Henry,[4] and [4] Mary [4] were born. In most instances, baptism followed soon after birth.

181. [4] Abraham,[4] born at Lancaster (?); m., Feb. 27, 1723–4, Mary Sawyer, of Lancaster. He died in 1731; and his widow married, second, her cousin, [4] Phineas [4] Willard [203], in 1735. She was living in 1744. Abraham lived in that part of Lancaster which is now Harvard, and had three children.

182. [4] Henry,[4] born at Lancaster (?); m., May 24, 1726, Abigail Fairbanks, of Lancaster. They also resided in that part of Lancaster which is now Harvard, and had eleven children.*

183. [4] Simon,[4] born at Lancaster, probably early in 1709; baptized there, April 24, 1709; m. Katherine Field, of Northfield. He was one of the proprietors of Winchester, N.H.; one of the Selectmen; Town-Treasurer; frequently presided at the town-meetings; was at Fort Dummer from February to July, 1748, in the military company commanded by Captain Josiah Willard, and was himself a captain afterwards. He died at Winchester, March 10, 1757. His wife survived him. They had nine children.

184. [4] James,[4] born at Lancaster; baptized there, March 24, 1710–11; m., Nov. 12, 1735, Rebecca Gates, of Lancaster. He died in 1738, in the twenty-eighth year of his age. Mrs. Willard died March 31, 1760. James and Rebecca were their only children.

185. [4] William,[4] born at Lancaster; baptized there, May 24, 1713; m., Oct. 7, 1734, Sarah Gates, of Lancaster, sister of Rebecca [184]. They had seven children.

186. [4] Daniel,[4] born at Lancaster; baptized there, Sept. 1, 1717; m. first, Nov. 19, 1745, *widow* Lucy Butler (maiden name Story), of Lunenburg. She died Sept. 4, 1759. He was so well affected towards widows, that, on Feb. 6,

* The death of Henry Willard is recorded at Harvard, Jan. 6, 1774, "of advanced years." I cannot affirm positively whether this was [4] Henry,[3] or his son [4] Henry.[4]

1760, he m., second, *widow* Sarah Dickerson, of Groton. He became a member of the church in Harvard in 1742. There were seven children by the first marriage, and one, at least, by the second marriage.

187. [4] Benjamin,[4] born at Lancaster; baptized there, April 30, 1721; m., Dec. 5, 1745, Hannah Godfrey, of Harvard. They had nine children.

188. [4] Mary,[4] born at Lancaster (?); m. Jacob Houghton, of Lancaster, Feb. 23, 1724–5.*

189. [4] Abigail,[4] born at Lancaster; baptized there, Aug. 7, 1715; m., March 8, 1738–9, Matthew Wyman, of Woburn. She survived her husband; and died at Lancaster, Jan. 20, 1763.

190. [4] Sarah,[4] born at Lancaster; baptized there, May 31, 1719; m. Benjamin Page, of Groton, where they had children, — Sarah, born Dec. 5, 1750; Benjamin, May 26, 1753; Ruth, June 10, 1756; Henry, March 18, 1758, died April 18, 1759.

191. [4] Lydia,[4] born at Lancaster; baptized there, June 21, 1724; m., Nov. 8, 1749, Daniel Johnson.

192. [4] Ruth,[4] daughter of Henry and Sarah; born May 22, 1726; baptized June 25, 1726; m., Jan. 2, 1745, William Farmer, of Lunenburg. She was then of Harvard. The births of some, perhaps of all, their children are in the Harvard records. Their son Timothy was born there, Sept. 17, 1749.

193. [4] Simon [3] [40], m. Mary Whitcomb. Their children were, —

194. [4] Aaron,[4] born at Lancaster, January, 1701; owned the covenant, and was baptized, May 10, 1719; m., Dec. 16, 1724, Mary Wright, daughter of Captain Samuel and Mary (Stevens) Wright, first of Sudbury and then of Rutland, and grand-daughter of Cyprian and Mary (Willard) Stevens. Aaron Willard was an active citizen in his native

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* In 1825, at the request of Henry Houghton, of Putney, Vt., the Town-clerk of Lancaster made another entry, stating the marriage as having taken place, April 30, 1730. I have no doubt of the correctness of the original entry. Besides, the date of April, 1730, would place the legitimacy of their son Abraham in question, as he was born Nov. 27, 1725; and baptized Oct. 23, 1726, by the Rev. Mr. Prentice, the parents "owning the covenant." Their second son, Timothy, was born Aug. 21, 1727, and baptized Oct. 1 following.

town, and Colonel of one of the Worcester regiments. He died in May, 1784, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. Mrs. Willard died April 27, 1767, in her sixty-fourth year. They had nine children, one of whom was [4] Simon,[5] born Sept. 29, 1727, died Jan. 9, 1825, æt. *ninety-seven years three months and eleven days.*

195. [4] Moses,[4] born at Lancaster about 1702–3; m., Sept. 28, 1727, Susanna Hastings, at Groton. His residence in Groton was a farm near the Nonaicoicus purchase, and bounding in part on the brook. He purchased in Groton in 1723, and dwelt in that town until 1732. About 1733, he removed to Lunenburg, and there joined Captain, afterwards Colonel, Josiah Willard in obtaining from the Province of Massachusetts the grant of the town of Winchester, and became one of the grantees. A new charter was obtained from the Province of New Hampshire in 1753, it having been ascertained to be within the limits of the latter province. Much of his time seems to have been passed in the new township, and in guarding the frontier at Fort Dummer and Ashuelot. Mrs. Willard was admitted to full communion in the church of Lunenburg, August, 1741; and her husband calls himself of that place in May, 1742. Perhaps this was not far from the time of his final removal from that town.

Moses was early an inhabitant of Charlestown, No. 4,* a frontier town particularly exposed to attack from the French and Indians. And so it happened, in the old French war, that, on the 18th of June, 1756, when Lieutenant Moses Willard, with his son of the same name, was at work upon his farm, within sight of the fort, the Indians made a sudden attack upon them. The father fell mortally wounded. The Indians pursued the son, and wounded him with a spear; but he succeeded in making his escape, carrying the spear with him into the fort. The father was fifty-four years old when he was killed. Mrs. Willard lived until May 5, 1797. The son lived in respect at Charlestown until his death,

* According to his daughter, Mrs. Johnson, he settled in Charlestown in 1742.

Aug. 17, 1822, at the age of eighty-four years. The parents had eleven children; or twelve, according to Mrs. Johnson. The sufferings of this family did not begin with the death of the father and the wound of the son; for in August, 1754, on a previous attack, the daughter Susanna, wife of James Johnson,* and her sister Miriam, — a young girl of fourteen, afterwards the wife of the Rev. Phineas Whitney, of Shirley, — were, with several others, taken captive, and carried through the wilderness to Canada.

196. [4] Eunice,[4] born at Lancaster; owned the covenant in the church there, and was baptized May 10, 1719; m. Joseph Daby, jun., of Stow. I have not the date of her marriage; but it was before January, 1725.

197. [4] Alice,[4] born at Lancaster; owned the covenant, and was baptized there, July 20, 1718. She m. Captain Jonathan Whitney, of Lancaster, Jan. 29, 1718–19.

198. [4] Miriam,[4] born at Sudbury; and baptized there, July 20, 1707. She was a posthumous child, and m. Joseph Maynard, who was also of Sudbury, Jan. 29, 1723. She and her husband owned the covenant there, August, 1724; and Mrs. Maynard was admitted to full communion, Aug. 6, 1727. The children of this marriage, born at Sudbury, were, — Joseph, 1725; Elizabeth, 1727; Simon, 1729; Persis, 1732, m. Micah Bowker, 1749; Miriam, 1736, m. John Carruth, jun., of Westboro', 1760; Aaron, 1738; Moses, 1742; John, 1744.

199. [4] John [3] [41], m. Anne Hill; had but one child; viz., —

200. [4] John,[4] born at Lancaster about 1715; baptized there, Sept. 8, 1717. He had grown to man's estate, and was about being married: indeed, some preparations had been made for the ceremony. His father possessed a large property; all of which would, in the course of nature, fall to this son. On May 16, 1739, when residing with his parents in Harvard, not far from the banks of Still River, so called, which

* Mrs. Johnson's narrative of her captivity, which contains many interesting recitals, is still well known in New England. There are mistakes in it; but they are chiefly confined to her attempted genealogy of a portion of the Willard family.

divides that town from Lancaster, he swam over the river on horseback; but, on returning, he unfortunately reined in the horse, so that "the horse sunk down immediately, and the young man was drowned before anybody could get to his assistance."* The stream, usually quiet, and answering to its name, happened to be overflowing; and the current was rapid.

201. [4] HEZEKIAH [3] [42], m. Anna Wilder, and had —

202. [4] Thomas,[4] born at Harvard, then a part of Lancaster, about 1713; baptized May 3, 1713. He became a member of the church on its first organization in Harvard; m., first, Sarah Gibson, perhaps of Groton. She was admitted to the church in Harvard from the First Church in Groton, Nov. 16, 1752; and died at Harvard, May 22, 1779; m. second, Feb. 25, 1786, Sarah Fletcher, of Concord. His second wife survived him. There were eleven children of this marriage.

203. [4] Phineas,[4] born at Lancaster (Harvard), Oct. 22, 1714; baptized Dec. 12, 1714; m., in 1735, Mary (Sawyer) Willard, widow of [4] Abraham [4] Willard [181]. The banns were forbidden, but, it would seem, without success. He was a sentinel in Captain Jeduthan Baldwin's company in one of the expeditions against Crown Point, Sept. 15 to Nov. 27, 1755. He died at Harvard, before Jan. 12, 1778; but from some cause, perhaps the troublous times, no inventory was returned until 1783. Phineas, the son, administered on the estate. The wife is not named in any of the proceedings, and probably preceded her husband to the grave. They had five children.

204. [4] Hezekiah,[4] born at Lancaster (Harvard), 1716 or 1717; baptized May 26, 1717; m., May 24, 1737, Lydia Haskell. They were united to the church in Harvard, Aug. 16, 1741. He died Jan. 16, 1761.† They had nine children. The widow m., second, Samuel Hunt, Jan. 19, 1764.

205. [4] Ephraim,[4] born at Lancaster (Harvard), Oct. 13, 1726;

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* His father was then "at Boston, buying the son's wedding-clothes."

† Aged forty-two, says the record; which must be a mistake.

baptized Dec. 18, 1726; lived in Lancaster; m., Oct. 29, 1745, Azubah Atherton, of Harvard. She united with the church in Harvard, March 16, 1746. He was out in 1757, under Captain Nathaniel Sawyer, on the alarm for the relief of Fort William Henry. They had five children. I have not minuted the time or place of the parents' death.

206. [4] Anna,[4] born at Lancaster (Harvard) about 1720; baptized April 3, 1720; m., March 2, 1749, Phineas Brown. She and her sister Mary were probably united to the church in Harvard, June 14, 1741.

207. [4] Mary,[4] born at Lancaster (Harvard) about 1722; baptized Dec. 22, 1722; m., Nov. 11, 1742, Joseph Fairbanks. See [4] Anna,[4] *supra*.

208. [4] Elizabeth,[4] born at Lancaster (Harvard), Jan. 28; baptized March 21, 1730–1; m., Jan. 9, 1754, Josiah Davis.

209. [4] Joseph [3] [43], m. Elizabeth Tarbell, and had —

210. [4] William,[4] born at Lancaster (Harvard) in 1713; baptized May 24, 1713. m., Feb. 23, 1738, Ellen Davis. He seems to have been a faithful and useful citizen. He was town-clerk of Harvard as early as 1752, if not earlier, and until 1766 or later, keeping the records well, and with very commendable chirography. He survived his wife, and died at Harvard, March 17, 1797, æt. eighty-four, — died of "old age," as the record states. They had eight children.

211. [4] Tarbell,[4] born at Lancaster (Harvard) about 1719; baptized Nov. 1, 1719; m., Nov. 29, 1739, Rachel Haskell. They were united to Harvard Church, May 25, 1740. She died at the house of her son-in-law, Mr. Oliver Stone, in Ashburnham, about 1786 or 1787. He died in Harvard, October, 1805, at an advanced age. They were the grand-parents of Dr. Stone, for many years a highly respectable physician in Harvard.

212. [4] Lemuel,[4] born at Lancaster (Harvard), July 28, 1725; baptized Sept. 19, 1725; m., Nov. 26, 1747, Hannah Haskell, sister to Rachel (*supra*). He held the office of deacon in Harvard Church, and was esteemed "a truly good man." He died in October, 1775. Mrs. Willard survived him many years, and died in old age, Jan. 26,

1802. Among their children were Dr. Elias Willard and Dr. Moses Willard, very skilful physicians and surgeons in the army of the Revolution, and subsequently in the practice of their profession in the State of New York.

213. [4] Joseph,[4] born at Lancaster (Harvard), May 17, 1728; baptized June 23, 1728; m., Feb. 14, 1753, Elizabeth Hapgood. His residence was on the very height of land on the turnpike-road, about half a mile from the middle of the town of Harvard. He united himself to the church, Dec. 16, 1753. He had the character of "a mild, excellent man." His death occurred Sept. 12, 1812.* Mrs. Willard died Nov. 13, 1803, "æt. seventy." Their daughter Elizabeth [5] m. Mr. Hosmer, of Walpole, N.H., father of Dr. Hosmer,[6] of Watertown, whose daughter, Miss Hosmer,[7] now residing at Rome, is the young, and already successful and celebrated, artist in the department of sculpture.

214. [4] Charles,[4] born at Harvard,† Aug. 30, 1734; baptized Sept. 1, 1734; m. Sarah Scolly, of Stoneham, to whom he was published in November, 1762. He was in Captain Samuel Haskell's company on the alarm for the relief of Fort William Henry. Mrs. Willard was united to the church in Harvard, March 24, 1765. At some time they removed to Fitchburg, where she died, Feb. 12, 1803, her husband surviving.

215. [4] Sarah,[4] born at Lancaster (Harvard) about 1715; baptized May 22, 1715; m. Eleazer Davis, at Harvard, Nov. 29, 1732 [*sic*].

216. [4] Elizabeth,[4] born at Lancaster (Harvard) about 1717; baptized Nov. 3, 1717; died unmarried.

217. [4] Sybil,[4] born at Lancaster (Harvard) in 1722, or early in 1723; baptized Feb. 17, 1722–3; m., May 10, 1744, Samuel Haskell, of Harvard. Dr. Stone, before men-

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* In the Harvard Records, he is said to have died æt. eighty-seven; which is a mistake: he was in his eighty-fifth year.

† Harvard had then become a separate town. It may here be remarked, that all the Harvard Willards baptized before 1733 were baptized in the Lancaster Church by the worthy Rev. John Prentice, the pastor of that church. Harvard Church, under the charge of Rev. John Seccombe, was not gathered until Oct. 10, 1733, the day of his ordination.

tioned, of Harvard, married a daughter. Mrs. Willard died about the year 1800, æt. seventy-seven.

218. [4] Amee,[4]* born at Lancaster (Harvard), Dec. 25, 1730; baptized Jan. 24 following; m., Nov. 16, 1749, Samuel Hazeltine, at Harvard.

219. [4] Samuel [3] [44], m. Elizabeth Phelps. Their children were, —

220. [4] Samuel,[4] born at Lancaster (Harvard), Nov. 12, 1718; baptized Oct. 8, 1721; m., in 1743, Susanna Wilder, of Lancaster. He established himself at Nichewoag, afterwards Petersham, where he was clerk of the proprietors, and where his father was a land owner. These lands his father afterwards bequeathed to him in his will, as this son's share of the inheritance. At an early period he received the commission of justice of the peace, at this time, as I have before remarked, a matter of some distinction.

In the beginning of the French war in 1755, he was promoted to the command of a regiment of eight hundred men to re-enforce the American army at Lake George. Soon after reaching camp he became ill, and died on the twenty-fifth day of October, very generally regretted. "He was esteemed a judicious, upright man, and filled with reputation the several offices he sustained." He left no offspring.

On the 25th of July, 1757, his widow became the wife of Rev. Elisha Marsh, of Narraganset No. 2, afterwards incorporated as the town of Westminster.

221. [4] Abijah,[4] born at Lancaster (Harvard), July 8, 1720; baptized Oct. 8, 1721; died Oct. 3, 1722.

222. [4] Nahum,[4] born at Lancaster (Harvard), May 28, and baptized July 22, 1722; m. Elizabeth Townsend, of Bolton. He became a physician, and established himself in practice in the town of Worcester, where he was held in much respect. In 1756, he was the surgeon of a company in Colonel Chandler's regiment, raised to prevent the advance of the

* This is the orthography on the Lancaster church-records.

French after the surrender of Fort William Henry. The same year, President John Adams, then a student-at-law with Mr. Putnam in Worcester, was a member of Dr. Willard's family, and on a very intimate and pleasant footing. "Dr. Willard had," says Mr. Adams, "a large practice, a good reputation for skill, and a pretty library." Indeed, Mr. Adams was so enamoured with the medical works which he found in the doctor's library, that "he entertained many thoughts of becoming a physician and surgeon." In 1771, Mr. Adams, journeying through Worcester, again visited Dr. and Mrs. Willard. "I see," he says, "little alteration in him and his wife in sixteen years."

This good couple pursued the even tenor of their way until the time of the Revolution, when, probably, he was found in sympathy with the loyalist party, which was natural enough from his connections and social relations, the men of that party having been of potential influence in the county of Worcester. Of course, he was visited with the wrath of the Worcester Sons of Liberty, and compelled to acknowledge "the perverseness of his wicked heart," which led him to abuse Continental and Provincial Congresses, the Selectmen of Worcester, and the Committees of Correspondence in general. These domiciliary visits, made to many very respectable, worthy men, were generally attended with the same result. If they did not recant offensive expressions, and humble themselves, personal violence would be the result.

After the Revolution, Dr. Willard removed to Uxbridge, where he died, April 26, 1792, having nearly completed threescore years and ten. His eldest son, Dr. Samuel Willard, was a distinguished physician in Uxbridge; and his second son, Dr. Levi Willard, acquired a good reputation as a physician and surgeon in Mendon.

223. [4] Abijah,[4] born at Lancaster (Harvard), July 27, 1724; baptized Aug. 30, 1724; m. first, Dec. 2, 1747, Elizabeth Prescott (sister of Colonel William Prescott, of Bunker-

Hill memory), born at Groton, Oct. 1, 1723, died at Lancaster, Dec. 6, 1751. Mr. and Mrs. Willard united themselves to the church in Lancaster in January, 1749; m. second, Nov. 15, 1752, Anna Prentice, of Lancaster, born in 1734, daughter of John, and grand-daughter of Rev. John Prentice, of Lancaster, and died in June, 1771; m. third, in 1772, Mrs. Mary McKown, of Boston. She was born about 1728, and died Dec. 15, 1807.

Mr. Willard had "a military genius." In 1745, at the age of twenty-one, he commanded a company at the reduction of Louisbourg, and, in 1755, a company under Colonel Monckton, at the reduction of the French forts in Nova Scotia;* and was soon afterwards promoted to the colonelcy of a regiment in the army, a portion of which seems to have been stationed at Crown Point. Colonel Willard was with his regiment in the expedition under Lord Amherst in 1759; and such was his activity and address, that he succeeded in raising his men, and bringing them into the field, earlier than any of the other commanders. He was one of the grantees of Walpole, N.H., before it was determined that the township was within the limits of that Province; and owned, besides a handsome homestead bequeathed by his father, a large real estate in Lancaster, lands in the county of Berkshire, and in the Province of Connecticut.

After the close of the French war, he devoted himself to the improvement of his estate, and performing the duties of a good citizen, enjoying the high regard of the community, and exercising a wholesome influence in the county, until, in an ill-advised hour, he consented to accept from the king the appointment of Mandamus Counsellor. Loyal to his king, and, at the same time, a lover of his country, the duties of loyalty and patriotism were becoming irreconcilable. In this state of things, and while the popular current was running strongly against the aggressions upon the charter

* This is connected with the melancholy history of the removal of the Acadians, or French neutrals.

of the Province, Colonel Willard visited Stafford, Conn., on business connected with his large landed estate in that town, and was there encountered by a mob, chiefly collected from a neighboring town, and escorted to Sturbridge, where he was compelled to surrender his commission under circumstances of some indignity.

Early on the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, Colonel Willard mounted his horse, with saddle-bags stored with seeds for his farm in Beverly,* prepared to spend several days there, and superintend the planting and sowing. Probably before arriving at Concord, the news reached him that the British troops were on their march. He would be too late to take any road leading into the Concord road from the north, without being molested by his own countrymen hastening to the rescue; for he was a well-known man: while it would be worse than folly to proceed down the Concord road in face of the enemy. Taking a more southerly course, it may be, and one less obstructed, if at all, he proceeded to Boston; and of course, once there, whatever may have been his wishes or intentions, he could not safely return. That he had no intention, when leaving home, of proceeding to Boston, is evident, not only from the manner of his leaving, but also because no arrangement was made or suggested for his wife and children to follow.

His large estate was confiscated, and, like all the other confiscations, produced little or no benefit to the government.

Colonel Willard, on the evacuation of Boston, went with the British army to New York, and received an appointment as commissary. At the termination of the war, he was presented with a crown-grant of land in New Brunswick. On this spot he built, and settled with his family, and there died in May, 1789. There were two children by the first

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* This was a purchase made by the Colonel and Thomas Fayerweather of William Burnet Browne, Esq., of King William's County, Va., formerly of Salem. The consideration for this purchase, including some lands in Danvers, was £2,756 sterling, — a very large purchase at that day.

marriage, and they both died in very early life. Of the six children by the second wife, Anna Prentice, but three survived their father, and were married. Of these, Samuel, the eldest, born Oct. 13, 1759, died at Lancaster, æt. ninety-seven, leaving issue. Elizabeth, born Sept. 11, 1761; m. Deacon Joseph Wales; and died at Lancaster, Aug. 19, 1822, *s.p.* She was a very bright, intelligent lady, full of vivacity and conversation, and highly esteemed by her friends. The youngest child was Anna, born Aug. 20, 1763, and baptized the day following; m., Nov. 25, 1804, Hon. Benjamin Goodhue, a distinguished merchant in Salem, and a senator in Congress. He died July 27, 1814, æt. sixty-six.*

224. [4] Levi,[4] born at Lancaster,† April 19; baptized May 28,

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* This is the lady to whom reference is made in a note on p. 237. At the time the note was written, Mrs. Goodhue was in her usual health, and, though liable at any moment to be summoned to her rest and reward, had a good prospect, through the kindest and most watchful care of which she was the constant recipient, of a life still further to be lengthened out, with a continuance of all her intelligence and affections. But it has been otherwise ordered. She died on the 2d of August, 1858, wanting only eighteen days of ninety-five years. After an illness of little more than a day, unattended with pain, in full possession of all her faculties, she quietly fell asleep, and passed to her account.

Her life had not been wholly free from anxiety and change; but it was, on the whole, an eminently happy life. It was made so by a cheerful, affectionate temperament; by great good sense; by unwavering Christian faith; never murmuring or complaining, but placing herself in position on the bright side of events; always endeavoring to do her duty in her sphere, and seeking to promote the happiness of all with whom she was in any way connected. Hence she acquired "troops of friends," who were always welcome to her hospitable mansion, and never left without an increase of esteem and loving regard. Her presence was a benediction, while her winning smile revealed the beauty of the spirit within.

It has been my privilege for many years to enjoy her society, and intimate, unbroken friendship; and I believe, that, in this slight delineation of her character, I simply give voice to the universal sentiment of those who were admitted to the same privilege.

† I cannot state whether he was born at Lancaster proper, or at Harvard. His father, Colonel Samuel Willard, in September, 1726, purchased of George Glazier that fine estate in the centre of Lancaster, bounding on the east and west sides of the "Neck," and, in February following, the land in front, extending to the river; but, as he did not make sale of the estate at "Still River," where his father, [4] Henry,[2] lived and died, until November, 1727, he probably resided at Still River at the time of Levi's birth.

1727; m. Katherine Chandler, daughter of Hon. Judge John Chandler, of Worcester. Mrs. Willard, in April, 1756, four months before the birth of her eldest child, transferred her relations from the church in Worcester to the church in Lancaster, then under the charge of Rev. Timothy Harrington. By bequest from his father, Mr. Willard became possessed of a third of the old homestead, — a portion of which afterwards became the property of Hon. William Stedman, — and added largely to his lands by purchases in Lunenburg and Fitchburg. He was also one of the grantees of Walpole, before it was found to belong to New Hampshire. He was Collector of the Excise for the county of Worcester in 1766; the Lieutetenant-Colonel of Colonel Caleb Wilder's regiment; and, in March, 1772, was put in the commission of peace.

Colonel Willard was for some years an active businessman in the old and well-known firm of Willard and Ward, who imported goods from England, and sold very largely, not merely to customers in Lancaster and the vicinity, but to others at a long distance. Perhaps this was the largest trading-house in the county of Worcester at that day. In October, 1771, he made a voyage to England with Captain Callahan, the well-known London captain, and may have made other voyages for the purpose of trade: but his health gave way before middle life; and, after languishing for years under chronic disorders, he died July 11, 1775, æt. forty-eight. The inventory of his real estate was six thousand five hundred and thirty-eight pounds. Mrs. Willard died at Lancaster, Jan. 10, 1791, æt. fifty-six. They had five children, — Levi (Harvard College, 1775) and John, who died unmarried; Katherine, named for her mother, died in infancy; a second Katherine, who m., Jan. 15, 1792, John Amory, Esq., of Boston; and Hannah, who died at Boston in 1807, æt. forty-three. Mrs. Amory died at Roxbury, July 20, 1831; and her husband at Boston, Sept. 4, 1832. They left one child, a daughter, the wife of Henry

Codman, Esq., who graduated at Harvard College in 1808, and died in 1853, leaving children.

225. [4] Joshua,[4] born at Lancaster, Jan. 24; baptized Jan. 25, 1729–30; m., Jan. 1, 1757, Lucretia Ward, at Shrewsbury. She was then called of "Westboro'," and was daughter of Nahum and Lydia (Stearns) Ward. Her husband's bequest from his father was a farm in Rutland; but his residence was in Petersham, where he became a physician, and enjoyed an extensive practice. Early in life, he was an officer in his brother Abijah's company, — Governor Shirley's regiment at Nova Scotia in 1755. He was afterwards a major in Colonel Murray's regiment. He was put in the commission of peace.

They had six sons, only one of whom, [4] Samuel,[5] was married. Of his five daughters, four were married. The family settled chiefly in Vermont.

226. [4] Abel,[4] born at Lancaster, Jan. 12; baptized Jan. 16, 1731–2; Harvard College, 1752. In 1766, he m. Elizabeth Rogers, daughter of Rev. Mr. Rogers, of Littleton, and one of several sisters. He died in London, Nov. 19, 1781. His widow survived him many years, and died in Boston, at an advanced age, in 1815, at the house of her sister, the late Mrs. Samuel Parkman, sen. They had no offspring.

After completing his college-course, Mr. Willard studied law in the office of the celebrated Benjamin Pratt, in Boston, who was subsequently the distinguished Chief-Justice of New York. On completing his novitiate, he was admitted to the bar, November, 1755, and opened an office in his native town, then an untrodden field in his profession, as was all the north part of the county of Worcester; and having the confidence of his townsmen, who had known the manner of his life from youth, soon acquired a handsome share of practice. He was the great peacemaker in Lancaster in adjusting suits and settling difficulties. "He was esteemed very judicious and learned in his profession,

and a very upright man." He possessed true modesty, the mark of an ingenuous mind; and, although of a cast of character approaching somewhat to timidity, he was full of moral courage, of stern integrity, and entire purity of principle. In his person he was tall, and of good figure; in disposition, mild and conciliatory. President Adams, in his diary, under date of March, 1756, when a student with Mr. Putnam, of Worcester, says, "The family of the Willards, of Lancaster, were often at Worcester; and I formed an acquaintance with them, especially Abel Willard, who had been one year with me in college: with him I lived in friendship." In May, 1769, he was placed in commission as a justice of the peace and quorum. Every prospect in life, except that of firm health and having children, seemed to be realized. In position, he was among the leading families in the county. He was fortunate in the marriage relation, his wife being the well-trained daughter of a clergyman; while a prosperous business had added to the third of the homestead bequeathed to him by his father, and placed him in competent and easy circumstances. But times of trouble were approaching, in which all were expected to take sides, and when neutrals were considered very much in the light of enemies. Mr. Willard was warmly attached to his country, but "did not choose to go the length of the high Whigs." Of course, he was subjected to a domiciliary visit from their Committee, "to know whether he was sound in politics, according to their standard." He might have remained at home in peace, so far as appears; but, with "indifferent health and spirits," he was not able to bear up under the apprehension of further, perhaps more searching, proceedings from the Lancaster inquisition, and therefore "retired with his family to Boston." His estate was confiscated, with but little, if any, benefit to the public treasury; and his beautiful residence passed into other and strange hands. He remained in Boston until the evacuation; and, thence proceeding to New York or Halifax, took passage for England, where he arrived July 26, 1776, meeting many

companions in reversed fortunes, exile, and sympathy, but not in consolation. • With a little more bravery of spirit, which would have come with sound health, united with discretion, this most worthy man might have remained, and preserved his estate.

The body wore upon the mind, and the mind upon the body, until the wasting process terminated his earthly career in November, 1781. He was buried at London. Mrs. Willard, after his death, returned to her native land; and, from that time until her own death in 1815, she resided with her sister, Mrs. Parkman, as before stated.

227. [4] JAMES [3] [45], m. Hannah Houghton. Their children were —

228. [4] Isaac,[4] born at Lancaster (Harvard) in 1719; m., March 31, 1748, Hannah Farnsworth, of Groton, daughter and sole heir of Jeremiah Farnsworth. They were admitted to the church in Harvard, Aug. 16, 1741. He was a soldier in the Provincial service in the French war, and received some special compensation from the General Court for his "services and sufferings." He was of Charlestown for some time about 1760, but afterwards returned to Harvard. Peculiar in his religious views, and indulging in distempered fancies, he left the church in Harvard, and became a disciple of Shadrach Ireland, "a teacher of certain peculiar doctrines in religion," and one "who had declared himself to be immortal." Ireland fled from Charlestown to Harvard, in 1760, to avoid prosecution; and lived there in great secrecy, until his death in 1780, in a house that was built for him, and which afterwards became the head-quarters of Mother Ann Lee and her disciples. Isaac lived near Ireland, and was one of those in the secret. He died in Harvard, of "old age" (æt. eighty-nine), May 22, 1808; and his wife, who had joined the Shakers' society in Harvard, died, one of their number, Jan. 2, 1816, of old age. They left two children, daughters. There may have been other children; but I have no account of any.

229. [4] Asa,[4] born at Lancaster (Harvard), probably in 1721; baptized June 25, 1721. He united himself to the church in

Harvard, Aug. 16, 1741, at the age of twenty, and at the same time with his brother Isaac. He was a soldier in the expedition to the westward in 1758, in Captain Whiting's company (Colonel Bagley's regiment), and served through the campaign. He was taken sick at the "Half-Moon," so called; and was found by his brother Isaac at Greenbush, and assisted home as far as the "Half-way House," where his illness increased, and terminated fatally at the age of thirty-seven years. He was buried where he died. In his will, made May 20, 1758, before setting out for the campaign, he remembered his father, brother, and sisters, but no wife or child. I have never found that he was married.

230. [4] Hannah,[4] born at Lancaster (Harvard); baptized May 17, 1724; m., Nov. 12, 1748, Samuel Mead, of Harvard.

231. [4] Abigail,[4] born at Lancaster (Harvard), April 17, 1726; baptized June 5, 1726; m., 1749, Benjamin Mead, of Holden (published in August, 1749).

232. [4] Experience,[4] born at Lancaster (Harvard), Feb. 2; baptized April 7, 1728; m., March 5, 1750–1, Daniel Houghton, jun., of Bolton.

233. [4] Susanna,[4] born at Lancaster (Harvard), July 13; baptized Sept. 20, 1730. She was living, unmarried, at the date of her brother Asa's will, May 20, 1758.

234. [4] Josiah [3] [46], m. Hannah Wilder. Their children were, —

235. [4] Josiah,[4] born at Lunenburg, Jan. 21, 1715–16;* baptized at Lancaster, Aug. 6, 1721, before any church organization at the former place; m., Nov. 23, 1732, Hannah Hubbard, of Groton. He was one of the grantees of Putney, Vt., under a charter from New Hampshire in 1753, and from New York in 1766;† and of Westminster, Vt., and Westmoreland in N.H.; also under charters from New Hampshire; but never lived, I think, in any one of these towns.

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* So is the record; though it makes him very young at his marriage.

† For an account of the long and bitter controversy between New York and New Hampshire in relation to the Hampshire grants, see Mr. Hall's "History of Eastern Vermont," recently published. His narrative is very full and interesting, and much of it is drawn from original sources. At one period, Ethan Allen figured largely in the controversy.

Mr. Willard passed a good share of his life on the frontiers, and was for many years actively engaged in military affairs. In 1740, and probably earlier, he was an officer in his father's company, stationed at Fort Dummer,* making excursions from time to time to points of danger. In May, 1746, when the Canadians and Indians assaulted Charlestown, No. 4, in considerable numbers, "they were driven off by the spirited behavior of Major Willard, at the head of a small party of soldiers." He afterwards received a commission as Lieutenant-Colonel, and was placed in command of Fort Dummer on the death of his father. The Secretary, in writing to him, Dec. 18, 1750,† on the occasion of his appointment, says, "His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor has been pleased to appoint you to succeed him in the command of Fort Dummer, as will appear by the enclosed commission. He desires and expects that you be very diligent and faithful in the discharge of this office." . . . The trust was discharged with fidelity.

He was in active service on the lines in the campaign of 1755; and was stationed with his regiment at Fort Edward, in September of that year, when the battle was fought at Lake George between General Johnson and Baron Dieskau.

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* According to Mr. Hall, p. 16, this fort was in the *south-easterly part* of Brattleborough (*ante*, p. 374), on what are now called "Dummer's Meadows." It was within the original limits of Northfield, Mass., — a town which had been laid out on both sides of Connecticut River; but, when the line between the two Provinces was run, the fort was found to be in New Hampshire, in the "Grants" so called, and so fell under her jurisdiction, though the former Province very liberally continued to support it. The Proprietors of Northfield, as early as 1716, petitioned the General Court for protection; and they were allowed "ten men for the cover and encouragement of the plantation." This was continued for years, by annual grant, until July, 1722, when, the inhabitants again petitioning the General Court to "take some method to put them in a posture of defence against the Indians," it was voted, "That the soldiers at Northfield be directed to garrison one or more of the most suitable houses there for their security."

I suppose that this was the origin of Fort Dummer, which Governor Shirley, in his letter to the Board of Trade ("Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society," vol. iii. p. 106), says "he finds, upon examining the records of the Province, was built about the year 1723."

† *Ante*, p. 375. Captain Phineas Stevens was the bearer of this letter.

Probably he regretted that he could not strive for distinction, and do service, by engaging in the battle; and he may have equally regretted that the baron, though desirous of attacking the fort, and so intending, was prevented by the Canadians and French of his army, who were "fearful of the English cannon," and would rather venture upon the Lake Shore.

I know not when Colonel Willard took up his residence on the frontier, though probably it was a few years after his marriage. His father was one of the grantees of Winchester from Massachusetts in 1733. A settlement had been effected there about 1733; and a church was organized in 1736, at which time Rev. Joseph Ashley was ordained as pastor. But the settlement was broken up in 1747, on account of the Indian wars; and the township, having been found to be within the limits of New Hampshire, remained, I believe, without inhabitants until a charter was obtained by Colonel Willard, his brothers, and others, from the latter Province, in 1753. Colonel Willard was the most prominent man in town, and held about all the offices of any trust or importance in the gift of the inhabitants. At one time he was their agent in petitioning for a new county; and they voted, in advance, to ratify all that he proposed to do, and afterwards gave him thanks "for his many good services done in and for the town in years past." In 1771, he was chosen the first representative of the town in the New-Hampshire Legislature. He died in 1786,* and was entitled, by a contemporary, "a man of great activity and benevolence." He possessed an equable disposition and conciliatory address; was a Christian by precept and example; and, having received a good education, was enabled to be very useful and influential, — indeed, to do more than any other one in promoting the settlement of what were then called "these western territories." . . . "His heart was always open to his friends in general, and to the learned, regular, and

* The town-records say Nov. 19: the inscription on his tomb gives the date April 19. The former is correct.

respectable among the clergy in particular."—"The wise," says his epitaph, "will imitate his virtues; and fools lament they did not, when he shall rise immortal." Mrs. Willard died Aug. 15, 1791. They had twelve children, two of whom graduated at Harvard College; viz., [4]Solomon[5] in 1773, and [4]Jonathan[5] in 1776.

236. [4]Nathan,[4] born at Lunenburg, May 28, 1726; m. Lucy Allen. For some years, at least as early as 1748, and soon after coming of age, he was a soldier and officer in the company stationed at Fort Dummer; and in 1755 and 1756, if not longer, was Commander of the Fort. He was also at Ashuelot in 1749, and was generally engaged on the frontier for some years in active service. I have not investigated sufficiently to identify his principal habitation with precision, but presume it was in Hinsdale, where he held office in 1754. His son [4]Nathan[5] was married there in 1775; and Allen, who, I believe, was another son, in 1785. Deming, in his "Vermont Officers," names him as among the early settlers in Brattleborough, previously called "Dummer Meadows" (*quære*), and one of the proprietors of Westminster, Vt.

While in command at the fort, in 1755, he represented to the General Court his exposed situation; nineteen persons having been killed or captured during the summer, in the vicinity of the fort, by the Indians, who "were constantly lurking in the woods around and near;" and that "it must fall, if attacked." Relief was granted, but not according to the exigency. Another petition was presented to the court in April, 1756, and a small additional force allowed. The large number of soldiers passing to the more distant frontier along the shores of Lakes George and Champlain probably served as a protection. The defenceless condition of the fort had been a subject of complaint under the first Colonel Josiah Willard, as early as 1740, when there was great danger from the Indians. He then offered, with those under him, at their own cost, "to put the garrison into a position of defence, . . . and erect two sufficient bastions,"

if government would be at the charge of furnishing the materials. Nathan and his brothers do not seem to have been very popular with the inhabitants at this time. Eleven of them, Captain Fairbank Moore and others, "in and about Fort Dummer," utter sundry complaints to the General Court, alleging that all the Willards swear against the Province, and in favor of New Hampshire; that they sell stores, &c., to the New-Hampshire forts and soldiers; that he has put in Oliver and William Willard as soldiers, in addition to the Province allowance; that there are four large Province houses in the fort, and he has given each of the Willards one, and taken a fifth to himself, and "turned all the rest of the families into two small rooms;" and, finally, that the Willards have appropriated all the lands to themselves, "and will allow but a small garden spot to the rest of the soldiers." Whether these complaints were just or not, I have not investigated. Fort Dummer was within the recognized limits of New Hampshire; and it may be that the complaints had their root in provincial jealousies.

Nathan Willard had several children; viz., Nathan, Lucy, Lucy, Abigail, Lucretia, probably Allen, and perhaps others.

237. [4] Oliver,[4] born at Lunenburg, March 6, 1729–30; m. Thankful Doolittle. He was at Fort Dummer as early as 1748, and onward till 1756; afterwards Captain; one of the grantees of Winchester from New Hampshire; and, in 1762, a grantee of Westmoreland, an assessor in Winchester, &c. Subsequently he was of Hartland, Vt., — chartered to Samuel Hunt and others, July, 1761; confirmed by New York to Oliver Willard and others, July, 1766. He was also one of the grantees of Woodstock, Vt., chartered by New York in 1771. He died about 1812; having had at least three children, — Oliver, Levi, and Wilder, — and perhaps others.

Oliver was a man of some mark in the town of Hartland, where he settled at least as early as 1763, and took part in the controversy between New Hampshire and New York

with regard to the right of jurisdiction over the towns in the easterly part of Vermont. He was in the interest of New York, and received from that government commissions as Justice of the Peace, and Assistant Justice of the Court of Common Pleas of Cumberland County, in 1766 and 1768. He was one of those who addressed Governor Tryon, in 1772, in remonstrance against establishing Chester as the county-town.

238. [4]Sampson,[4] born at Lunenburg, June 27, 1732; drowned at Winchester, Dec. 15, 1739, in the eighth year of his age.

239. [4]Wilder,[4] born at Lunenburg, June 30, 1735; m. Susanna Hubbard; was early in the company at Fort Dummer, when quite a lad, and as late, at least, as 1756. He was also one of the proprietors of Westminster. He died in 1777, leaving a son, who was living at Leverett, Mass., in 1824.

240. [4]Abigail,[4] the eldest daughter, born at Lunenburg, July 4, 1718; baptized at Lancaster, Aug. 9, 1721, at the same time with Josiah and Susanna; m. Aug. 2, 1737, at Lunenburg, Thomas Prentice, Esq., of Lancaster, son of Rev. John Prentice, of Lancaster. The following is her epitaph in the South Burial-ground in Lunenburg: "The remains of Mrs. Abigail Prentice, ye virtuous consort of Thomas Prentice, Esq., are here interred. She was ye daughter of Josiah Willard, Esq., and an agreeable companion, an exemplary Christian, who died on the 9th of November, 1750, in ye 33^d^ year of her age, greatly lamented." She died without offspring. Mr. Prentice was a surveyor. He was admitted to Lancaster Church, 1728; and was dismissed to the church in Newton in 1750. He married, second, Mrs. Jackson, daughter of John Jackson, and widow of Samuel Jackson, Esq., of Newton; and died there in 1775, aged sixty-seven.

241. [4]Susanna,[4] born at Lunenburg, July 9, 1720; baptized at Lancaster, with Josiah and Abigail, Aug. 9, 1721; m. John Arms — the same, I suppose, who was one of the grantees of Brattleborough — in December, 1743. They had seven children, one of whom was living in 1824.

242. [4] Lois,[4] born at Lunenburg, Dec. 16, 1722; baptized at Lancaster, Feb. 3, 1723; m. Valentine Butler. Butler was a sentinel in the company at Fort Dummer, 1749–50. They had four children.

243. [4] Prudence,[4] youngest daughter, born at Lunenburg, Sept. 30, 1727; m. [1] William [5] Willard, eldest son of Rev. [1] Joseph [4] Willard, who was slain at Rutland, in August, 1723 (*ante*, pp. 392–3). William was a child when his mother married Rev. Mr. Andrew Gardner, and of course accompanied his parents to Lunenburg, and thence to Winchester. He was early a soldier at Fort Dummer, and as late as 1756. He was a proprietor of Westminster in 1752 and 1760, and led a very active life on the frontier. There were three sons born to him by his wife Prudence, two of whom were living in 1824, — one at Brattleborough, and the second at Westminster, Vt.

I suppose that it was this [1] William [5] of whom Mr. Hall makes frequent mention, as well as his brother [1] Joseph; [5] and who were of the "court party," so called, in the interest of New York in their claim to the "Hampshire grants." When the controversy was raging, they were imprisoned, with Judge Chandler and others, on the charge of being concerned in the "Westminster massacre;" but were released on bail. This was in 1775. In 1779, they, and many others of the "New-York party," were brought to trial, and sentenced to pay a fine.

William was a leading man in Vermont in these disturbed times, having been commissioned as Justice of the Peace by the New-York government in 1766, '68, and '72; and as Assistant Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in 1768 and 1772. He died at Brattleborough of "hemorrhage; . . . and was regarded by the old people as a judgment for the part he took in shedding the blood of French" at Westminster.

244. [4] Jonathan [3] [47], m. Keziah White, and had, —

245. [4] Jonathan,[4] born at Lunenburg, Feb. 26, 1720–1; m. Oct. 24, 1743, at Lunenburg, Phœbe Ballard, of Concord. He was one of the grantees of Walpole from the Province of Mas-

sachusetts. This township falling within the line of New Hampshire, the grantees petitioned for another township. He was constable of Lunenburg in 1748–9. He had ten children, and all born at Lunenburg.

246. [4] Adonijah,[4] born at Lunenburg, June 1, 1724; died Oct. 22, 1729.

246[a]. [4] Barzillai,[4] born at Lunenburg, June 5, 1728; m., Nov. 18, 1757, Hepsibeth Reddington, of Lunenburg. He was a Lieutenant at Crown Point in 1756, in Captain Samuel How's company, Colonel Willard's regiment; and, in 1761, a Lieutenant in Colonel John Hoar's regiment in the three months' service. He was also one of the grantees of Walpole from Massachusetts, and one of the petitioners for a new town near Narraganset No. 6. He had six children.

247. [4] Caleb,[4] born at Lunenburg, Feb. 2, 1730–1. He was married; but I have not the name of his wife. In 1749–50, he was a soldier on the frontiers at Ashuelot; a Lieutenant in the expedition of eighteen hundred men in 1757, during which he was taken ill of the small-pox, and afterwards received an allowance from the General Court for his sufferings and expenses. From November, 1758, to March, 1759, served as Lieutenant in Captain Abiel Keene's company; and in the campaign of 1759, under Lord Amherst, he was the Major of Colonel Abijah Willard's regiment. He was also one of the grantees of Walpole from Massachusetts; and, in 1761, one of the grantees of Clarendon, Vt., under a charter from New Hampshire. Major Willard removed to Ipswich. He had a son Caleb.

248. [4] Keziah,[4] born at Lunenburg, Oct. 15, 1719; died unmarried.

249. [4] Mary,[4] born at Lunenburg, Feb. 13, 1734–5; m., July 17, 1757, Elijah Grout, of Lunenburg, afterwards of Charlestown, N.H. They had children: Amasa, born at Lunenburg, 1759; Jonathan, 1760; Mary, 1761; Letice, 1763; Sophia, 1765.

250. [4] Amity,[4] twin with [4] Unity [4] [251], born at Lunenburg, Oct. 31, baptized there, Nov. 13, 1737; died unmarried.

251. [4] Unity,[4] twin with [4] Amity [4] [250], born at Lunenburg, Oct. 31, baptized there, Nov. 13, 1737; m. John Moore, of Bolton.

252. [4] Bethulah,[4] born at Lunenburg, June 18, 1726; died Oct. 30, 1727.

253. [4] Adonijah,[4] born at Lunenburg; baptized May 13, 1733; and died unmarried.

254. [5] JONATHAN [3] [55]; twice married; but the surnames of his wives have not been ascertained. The children were, —

255. [5] Jonathan,[4] son of Jonathan and Sarah, born at Concord, Aug. 30, 1723. He removed with his father to Sheffield, and there lived some years in that part of the town which was afterwards incorporated as Great Barrington; m. Margaret Smith, who was born about 1730. He afterwards removed to Pawlet, Vt., which had been granted to his relative, [9] Jonathan [4] Willard, and others, by charter from New Hampshire in 1761, and had a grant of land there. He died in that town, May 16, 1795; his wife surviving him, and dying at the same place, July 13, 1809, æt. seventy-nine. He had four sons and six daughters. His son [5] Jonathan,[5] who had eight children, and died in Ohio in 1850 or 1851, was the father of [5] Silas,[6] — now living in Granville, N.Y., — whose son [5] Cyrenius [7] is Cashier of the Bank at Castleton, Vt. Like other New-England families, the branches are very much scattered.

256. [5] John,[4] son of Jonathan and Sarah, born at Concord, Dec. 21, 1726. I have no further account of him.

257. [5] Josiah,[4] son of Jonathan and Sarah, born at Concord, Jan. 10, 1727–8; was never married. He accompanied his brother [5] Jonathan [4] [255] from Sheffield to Pawlet, having received a grant of land there; and died Dec. 26, 1805, æt. seventy-seven.

258. [5] David,[4] son of Jonathan and Abigail, born at Sheffield, July 17, 1741; m. Martha ——. They lived in Great Barrington,* where he owned lands. I find him there in

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* Originally, Great Barrington was the north parish in Sheffield. Sheffield was the Lower, and Great Barrington the Upper, "Houssatonnock." They were granted in 1722. The former was settled in 1725; the latter, about 1730: and they were incorporated respectively in 1733 and 1761.

1764; in 1771, when his daughter Sarah was born there; in 1782, 1785, and 1790. He made various conveyances of his estate, perhaps preparatory to his removal. In the last conveyance, 1796, he calls himself of "Otsego, New York." Perhaps he was living in 1819 (see note to 263[a]).

259. [5] Daniel,[4] son of Jonathan and Abigail, born at Sheffield, Sept. 8, 1742; m. Phebe ——. He resided at Great Barrington until about 1817, when he removed to Sheffield; and left a will, 1819, by which he gave a farm of a hundred acres to the First Congregational Society in Great Barrington. His wife survived him some years. They died *s. p.*

260. [5] Samuel,[4] son of Jonathan and Abigail, born at Sheffield, Aug. 8, baptized Oct. 21, 1750; died in Great Barrington in 1782. His brother David administered on his estate. I have no account of any marriage.

261. [5] Mary,[4] eldest daughter of Jonathan and Abigail, born at Sheffield, April 1, baptized May 13, 1744.

262. [5] Susanna,[4] daughter of Jonathan and Abigail, born at Sheffield, April 4, baptized May 4, 1746.

263. [5] Mercy,[4] born at Sheffield, April 8, 1748.

263[a]. [5] Catherine,[4] daughter of Jonathan and Abigail, born at Sheffield, March 1, baptized June 13, 1753.*

264. [5] Simon[3] [56], married widow Zeruiah Brewer, and had, —

265. [5] Dubartus,[4] born at Sheffield, June 9, 1745. He was at Sheffield in the third quarter of the last century, and afterwards removed to Great Barrington.

Rev. John G. Hall, writing from South Egremont in 1848, says that Dubartus is most remembered there "for his faculty in rhyming. Some of his rhymes are not forgotten here yet." Dubartus was among the first settlers of Burlington. The Willards were also among the first settlers of Essex, Vt., in 1783. Dubartus was the first select-

* [5] Daniel[4] [259], in his will, 1819, names brother "David," and sisters "Mary, Susan, Mercy, and Katy." These, perhaps, were all living. Samuel was dead; and so were all the children of the half-blood.

man and representative of Essex in 1786, — the year of its organization. He was married. A son, Levi, was living in Burlington a few years since. He was quick and clever in repartee, and a shrewd observer of men. As to his rhymes, I have never seen but one; and that hardly justifies the remark of a gentleman in Berkshire, who says, that, when a boy, he heard "several excellent ones" of which Dubartus was the author. They may have made up in point for the want of polish; while he may have done more service, had he had the advantage of education.

266. [5] Lewis,[4] born at Sheffield, Aug. 5, 1749. He was still at Sheffield in 1788; and of Paris, N.Y., in 1793.

267. [5] Simon,[4] born at Sheffield, Feb. 24, 1746; m. Anne ——. He owned a large farm, and was a prosperous man for some years; but at last, through the speculations of one of his sons, he became involved, and permanently embarrassed in his circumstances. He resided for some time in Egremont, where he died, and was buried just on the line of Sheffield and Egremont.

Simon had a large family, — five sons and seven daughters. The family became very much scattered through New York and the West. One of the sons was [5] Simon,[5] born in Egremont; lived there, and in Alford in Massachusetts, Vernon, N.Y., and Cincinnati, O. He has been well known for his inventive faculty in the mechanics, and was for many years largely concerned in patent rights, with the usual alternations of prosperous and adverse fortune which seem to inhere in persons of this species of talents. He was living at Cincinnati late in 1851, and may be still living.

267[a]. [5] Rufus,[4] born at Sheffield, May 29, 1751; m. Pamelia ——. He was of Sheffield in 1789; and calls himself of Paris, N.Y., in 1793, at the same time with his brother Lewis [266]. He served in the Revolutionary war; and died at the advanced age of eighty-four years, having had a family of ten children. One of them, [5] Rufus,[5] was living in the town of Niles, in Michigan, in 1854.

267[b]. [5] Anna Maria,[4] born at Sheffield, Dec. 5, 1755; died there, Sept. 29, 1757.

268. [5] Frederic,[4] born at Sheffield.

268[a]. [5] John.[4] I have this name on a list of Simon's children; whether exact or not, I have not verified.

269. [6] Daniel[3] [59], m., first, Abigail Mather; second, Ann Thomas; and had, —

270. [6] Mary,[4] daughter of Daniel and Abigail, born at Boston, Feb. 29, 1719–20.

271. [6] Katherine,[4] daughter of Daniel and Abigail, born at Boston in July or August, 1717.

272. [6] Abigail,[4] daughter of Daniel and Abigail, born at Boston, Oct. 27, 1718.

273. [6] Resign,[4] daughter of Daniel and Abigail, born Sept. 17, died Sept. 24, 1721. The mother died two days after the daughter: hence "Resign" would be a memorial name.

274. [6] Ann,[4] daughter of Daniel and Ann, and the only child of the marriage, born May 22, died Oct. 4, 1723.

[7] John[3] [72].

[7] Joseph[3] [73]. These were the sons of [7] Joseph,[2] who settled in London. Whether these sons were married and had issue, and whether there were other children, I have never ascertained.

275. [8] Joseph[3] [75], m. Martha Clarke, and had, —

276. [8] Benjamin,[4] born at Framingham, Nov. 13, 1716; m., May 17, 1739, Sarah Brooks, of Concord. He took up his residence in Grafton, where he was a worthy and esteemed citizen, and was promoted to office by the inhabitants.

Benjamin had a family of twelve children, — nine sons and three daughters. One of the sons was [8] Joseph[5] (Harvard College, 1765), a classmate of Rev. President Willard, and successively the minister of Mendon and Boxborough. A second son was [8] Benjamin,[5] early known as a clock-maker, perhaps among the first in New England.* [8] Aaron,[5] also,

* Benjamin advertises in the "Boston Evening Post," December, 1771, his "removal from Lexington to Roxbury, and will take care of clocks purchased of him or of his workman at Grafton, where clocks are made, as well as at Roxbury. He

was a son of like gifts; and their brother [8] Simon,[5] still more distinguished, was long and favorably known in this business from a date preceding the Revolution down to within fifteen or twenty years past, and died at Boston in 1848, in the ninety-sixth year of his age, leaving, among other children, a son of the same name, a worthy successor in the art.

277. [8] Joseph,[4] born at Grafton, April 27, 1720; m. Hannah Rice. After his marriage, he lived a while in Worcester, where two of his children were born; but his principal residence was in Grafton, where he became a leading man in town-affairs for many years.

In his day, the old custom of "seating the meeting-house" was still continued; that is to say, after the system of pews was established, the pews were assigned to the various members of the parish, the principal man having "the chief seat in the synagogue." This place was assigned to him in the distribution of pews in 1762. He had three sons and eight daughters. One of the sons was Thomas Rice Willard (Harvard College, 1774), who died in the first year of the Revolutionary war. He joined the army as commissary, and went to the hospital to have the small-pox, and there sickened and died. It will be remembered that he was one of those who gave depositions in relation to the Lexington fight.

278. [8] Isaac,[4] born at Grafton, April 15, 1724; m. Sarah Whipple, of Grafton. He is the same Isaac, I suppose, who, in 1771, is called "Lieutenant Isaac Willard," in Colonel Chandler's regiment. He died at Worcester in January, 1806, æt. eighty-one, having had three or four children.

279. [8] Josiah,[4] born at Grafton, March 23, 1732; m., Nov. 4, 1755, Dinah How, at Marlborough. He lived successively in Rutland, Hardwick, North Braintree, and Norwich, in Massachusetts; and died, it is said, about 1817. He had a family of ten children. His son [8] Josiah [5] was in the con-

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will sell house-clocks, neatly cased, cheaper than imported. He hopes that this and other kinds of mechanical performances may be encouraged; as large sums have been sent abroad that might be retained, to the emolument of this country."

tinental service from November, 1777, three years; during which period he was taken a prisoner at Newark, N.J., and confined at New York.

280. [8] Daniel,[4] born at Grafton, April 13, 1734; m., July 30, 1759, his cousin, Sybil Willard [293], daughter of [8] Simeon [4] Willard, then of Longmeadow, a part of Springfield. Daniel lived at Shrewsbury a part of his life, and died there in 1785; his widow surviving him, and administering upon his estate. He had a large family of children. [8] Luther Benjamin [6] Willard, Esq., son of [8] Simeon [5] and Esther (Hopkins) Willard, and grandson of Daniel and Sybil, is a respectable citizen of Detroit.

281. [8] Simon,[4] born at Grafton, May 13, 1736; died Nov. 5, 1751.

281[a]. [8] Solomon,[4] born at Grafton, Nov. 7, 1738.

282. [8] Sarah,[4] eldest daughter, born at Grafton, July 30; baptized at Framingham, Oct. 12, 1718; m., Feb. 18, 1735–6, Noah Brooks, of Concord.

283. [8] Martha,[4] born at Grafton, May 27, 1722; m. David Harrington, of Grafton. Mrs. Harrington was drowned in Sudbury River, at Framingham, during a freshet. The Grafton records contain births of seven children of this marriage between March, 1746, and April, 1757.

284. [8] Hannah,[4] born at Grafton, March 17, 1726; m., Feb. 22, 1744, Richard Roberts. The Grafton records contain births of five children of this marriage between July, 1745, and December, 1758.

285. [8] Phœbe,[4] born at Grafton, March 22, 1728; died April 11, 1730.

286. [8] Mary,[4] born at Grafton, April 3, 1730; m., Nov. 17, 1756, Daniel Goddard, of Shrewsbury, who, according to Allen,* was son of Edward, and grandson of William, who came from Norfolk, England, in 1666. He had a son Calvin.

After graduating at Dartmouth College in 1786, Calvin studied law, and began the practice in Plainfield, Conn., where, says a writer, "he is esteemed eminent for one of his age, and is in a fair way of promotion." Such promotion, in fact, awaited him. From Plainfield he removed to

* American Biographical Dictionary.

Norwich, and was engaged in extensive professional business. He became a member of Congress, and a Judge of the Supreme Court of the State. "He was an excellent man," says Allen, "a lover of truth, benevolent, of strong attachments." He left several children.

287. [8] SIMEON [3] [76], m. Phœbe Newton, and had, —

288. [8] Persis,[4] born at Grafton, March 12, 1729; m., June 28, 1749, Benjamin Warriner, jun., of Springfield, that part which is now Longmeadow.

289. [8] Hepzibah,[4] or Hepzibeth, born at Grafton, Oct. 7, 1731; m., Feb. 22, 1753, Noah Bowker, of Somers, Conn.

290. [8] Esther,[4] born at Grafton, June 13, 1733; died at Marlborough, April 23, 1751, in the eighteenth year of her age, unmarried.

291. [8] Phœbe,[4] born at Grafton, April 14, 1735.

292. [8] Sarah,[4] born at Grafton, Feb. 19, 1736–7; m., Dec. 12, 1755, Reuben Warriner, of Springfield (Longmeadow) [288].

293. [8] Sybil,[4] born at Grafton, June 3, 1739; m., July 30, 1759, [8] Daniel [4] Willard [280], of Grafton, and afterwards of Shrewsbury.

294. [8] Elizabeth,[4] born at Grafton, May 4, 1741; died at Springfield (Longmeadow), Nov. 21, 1751.

295. [8] Abner,[4] born after the father removed from Grafton, probably at Springfield (Longmeadow). He was the only son; and died unmarried, Nov. 15, 1751.

296. [8] Caroline,[4] born after the father removed from Grafton, probably at Springfield (Longmeadow); m., Sept. 22, 1769, George Colton, of Springfield.

297. [9] JONATHAN [3] [82], m., first, Elizabeth Whitney; second, Mary Cook. Had children: —

298. [9] Mary,[4] daughter of Jonathan and Elizabeth, born at Cambridge * about 1715; m., April 28, 1743, Joseph Rutter,

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* The father, as I have stated (p. 385), resided in various places. He was in Sudbury in 1710–11; Cambridge, 1714–18; Roxbury, 1718–21; Charlestown, 1722–24, and *perhaps*, continuously, until about 1728; Worcester, 1728–30; Sutton, 1731; Worcester, 1732; and Sudbury, 1733–4. It was after this, I suppose, that he went to Sherburne, where, as will be seen on page 440, his last three children died in early life.

of Sudbury; and they were then called, "both of Sudbury." There are children of this marriage on the records of that town, — Mary, born in 1744; Eunice, 1745; Thomas, 1748, m. Abigail Heard, 1773; Joseph, 1752, m. Eunice Maynard, 1758; Jemima, 1756, m. Dr. Aaron Wight, of Medway, 1776. Micah Maynard Rutter, who died about 1837, leaving children, was a descendant of Joseph and Mary.

299. [9] Abigail,[4] daughter of Jonathan and Elizabeth, born at Cambridge, Sept. 18, 1716; m. James Mann, of Natick, and had three children, — 1. Colonel James, of "Spring Street, Roxbury;" 2. Captain Moses, of Dover, Mass.; 3. Polly, who m., first, Samuel Curtis, and had a son; second, Jacob Foster, of Maine.

300. [9] Daniel,[4] born at ——* about 1718; m., March 2, 1743, Rachel Wheelock, Worcester; second, Widow Elizabeth (Manning) Bailey, of Marlborough, daughter of —— Manning and Mary (Boyles) Manning, of Gloucester, Mass. He died of consumption at Holden, to which place he had removed from Shrewsbury, April 11, 1774; his second wife surviving him, and administering upon his estate.

Mr. Willard had had a good estate, a portion of which he lost by some unfortunate speculation, probably before he removed to Holden, where he began to build a house, but was interrupted by death before it was completed.

There were six children by the first marriage, of whom [9] Ruel,[5] — born in 1752, and died in 1806, — a man of "genius" and of unusual "conversational powers," was father, among others, of Hon. [9] Justice [6] Willard, of Springfield (Dartmouth College, 1811); and [9] Beriah,[5] born in

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* The birth is very distinct in Charlestown records, "December 20, 1723;" but there must be some mistake here. He was born about 1718, and was in his *fourteenth* year in July, 1732, when he and the other children were placed under the guardianship of James Whitney. The ages of all the children of the first wife are given in the files and record. At the age of fourteen years, then as now, a ward had a right to choose his own guardian, which Daniel did on petition to the Middlesex Judge of Probate, Feb. 18, 1735. This shows conclusively that the Charlestown record is erroneous.

1757, died in 1819, was father, among others, of the late [9] David [6] Willard, of Greenfield (Dartmouth College, 1809), and counsellor-at-law.

By the second marriage came several children, one of whom was the late Dr. [9] Ashbel [5] Willard, born at Holden in 1767; m., 1799, Polly Cutting, born at Shrewsbury, now Boylston. The doctor was a man of "strong sense, and a very skilful physician" of large practice in Wrentham, where he died Nov. 19, 1852, within three weeks of the age of eighty-five years. Mrs. Willard died there, April 28, 1823, in her forty-sixth year. He had a large family of children, one of whom is [9] Artemas,[6] of Fall River; and another, the late Dr. [9] Henry [6] Willard, of Boston.

301. [9] Jonathan [4] (twin with [9] John [4]), son of Jonathan and Elizabeth, born at Roxbury (?) about 1720; m., first, Sarah Childs. I have not the name of his second wife; but his third wife is said to have been Mrs. Stark, widow of —— Stark, a connection of General Stark. In early manhood, I should suppose, he settled in Colchester, Conn.

Jonathan was a man of energy, and prosperous in his circumstances. He owned and commanded a vessel, and was for some time engaged in the coasting business between ports in New England and New York. Not far from middle life, he moved to Albany, where he kept a public house, and had a large contract with government to furnish stores for the army at Lake George. Thence he removed to "Old Saratoga;" and thence to Pawlet, Vt., of which, as well as of Mount Tabor, he was one of the principal grantees from New Hampshire. He finally owned "just two-thirds" of Pawlet, with large rights in Danby and Mount Tabor. From a state of great prosperity, he was reduced by the prodigality of one or more of his grandchildren to actual poverty; and died at Rutland, Vt., April, 1804, at the age of eighty-four.

He had several children, one of whom was Colonel [9] Samuel,[5] who, it is said, was in the battle of Saratoga. A

descendant of his, [9] Daniel Willard [8] Fiske, of the Astor Library, a very young man, has acquired distinction as a linguist.

302. [9] John [4] (twin with [9] Jonathan [4]), son of Jonathan and Elizabeth, born at Roxbury (?) about 1720; m. Elizabeth Elder. They were of Sudbury in September, 1742, when they became members of the church in that town, and had children there, — Elizabeth, born in 1742; Jonathan, 1744; John, 1746; Mary, 1748; Sarah, 1752. I have no memorandum of the time and place of the parents' death.

303. [9] Josiah,[4] son of Jonathan and Elizabeth, born at Charlestown, Oct. 16, 1722. He was living in 1732, "aged about ten," says the record of his guardianship.

304. [9] Benjamin,[4] son of Jonathan and Elizabeth, born at —— about 1725. He m. at Rutland, Aug. 1, 1748, Mary Rice, ~~sister~~ of the wife of Rev. Samuel Willard, of Biddeford, daughter of Captain Aaron and Hannah (Wright) Rice, — who were married in August, 1726, — granddaughter of Captain Samuel and Mary (Stevens) Wright, and great-grand-daughter of Cyprian and Mary (Willard) Stevens. Captain Aaron Rice commanded a company in Colonel Brown's regiment at Fort Edward in the campaign of 1755, where he sickened, and, after a lingering illness, died of camp-fever, Dec. 6, 1755. Benjamin hastened to the assistance of his father-in-law at Fort Edward, and remained with him till his death. He was himself taken ill of the fever, but finally recovered. He had at least five children, — Aaron, born in 1749; Josiah, 1751, died in 1756; Samuel Wright, 1754, died in 1756; Hannah, 1756; Josiah, 1758.

305. [9] William,[4]* twin with [9] Samuel [4] [306], son of Jonathan and Mary, born at Worcester, Nov. 7, 1729.

306. [9] Samuel,[4]* twin with [9] William [4] [305], son of Jonathan and Mary, born at Worcester, Nov. 7, 1729; died at Sudbury, May 31, 1733, in the fourth year of his age.

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* The birth of these twins is said to be recorded at Worcester. The late Dr. Stearns names them as having been born at Sudbury; but I did not find their names there when I examined the records of that town.

307. [9] Joseph,[4] son of Jonathan and Mary, born at ——; died Aug. 27, 1736, in infancy or early youth.

308. [9] Elizabeth,[4] daughter of Jonathan and Mary, born at Sudbury [?], March 12, 1734–5; died at Sherburne, May 22, 1744.

308[a]. [9] James,[4] jun., son of Jonathan and Mary, born at ——; died at Sherburne, July 4, 1744, in early youth.

308[b]. [9] Susanna,[4] daughter of Jonathan and Mary, born at ——; died at Sherburne, June 26, 1744, in early youth.

The foregoing list completes the four generations in the male line, with marriages so far as ascertained, accompanied with a few brief notices, as promised on p. 353, and more than was promised in the "Circular." It also contains the children of Major Willard's daughters. I could have been much more full in some of the delineations within the generations to which I have here limited myself, particularly in the line of the second son of the Major; but it would have required a large increase of labor, besides swelling the volume to an unreasonable bulk.

In this publication, my great object has been to preserve whatever relates to Major Willard, with his immediate ancestry and next of kin, in connection with three of the generations issuing from him; so that all living descendants, possessing the family name, may, if they desire, trace back their lineage, through their common American ancestral head, to the quiet parish of Horsmonden.

CHAPTER XVII.

CONCLUSION.

A WORD in conclusion, by way of discourse, with my multitudinous cousins, or such of them as have followed on to the end of the last chapter without tiring. Many have looked upon genealogical investigations, such as have occupied the last chapter, as of no value, because they have no relation to wealth, no affinity with present interests, no sympathy with religious or political party, and are not versed in any of the great movements of society. Of consequence, the quiet genealogist has shared the condition of his pursuits, and, where not subject to sneer, has been viewed with pity by the solid men who rule in the world of opinion, and the humble men who are not apt to cast beyond themselves, as mistaking the great issues of life, and accomplishing small ends by small means. But he has gone on diligently and without complaint, enjoying himself as much in the verification of a fact, in settling a dispute touching a name or a date, in restoring the forgotten from the rubbish of the elder day, as the merchant in planning a successful voyage, or the jurist in settling a legal principle. He has felt pleasure in the pursuit, and satisfaction in the result; for a truth has been established, whatever may be its degree of worth in human estimate.*

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* The late Dr. John Farmer, of Concord, N.H., — a most diligent and painstaking man, — in the midst of debility which would have disheartened most men, worthily led the way in his "Genealogical Register of the First Settlers of New England," an octavo volume published in 1829. Other laborers have followed, to some extent, in the same field; and we hope, ere long, to have the four volumes on the same subject prepared by Hon. James Savage, the careful result of his critical investigations and unremitted labors extending over many years, and a fitting crown of his earnest and enlightened work in various departments connected with our history.

In one aspect, however, censure is justly administered; and that is, when the purpose of the genealogist is to feed vainglory and pamper family pride, — an endeavor, it may be, to compensate personal deficiencies and degeneracies by blazoning the lustre or respectability of former generations, only the more melancholy from the contrast with the present; or when he busies himself in pursuing rank and title in the privileged circles of the Old World, where, in many instances, the bend sinister marks not merely the want of purity of blood, but it may be the far greater want of purity of character. But this is only an incidental evil, not inherent; and may be easily mixed up with the best undertakings. Let the expression, "family pride," retain its low place, as ministering to vanity; for it is not a proper expression to designate the true sentiment, which has its foundation deeper than republican institutions, even down in the depths of the nature God has given us. A regard for ancestry, as an occasion for thankfulness and an example for imitation, comes not within the category; and it may be reasonably inferred, that the man who has no respect for his ancestry is either very degenerate, or has no ancestry worthy of respect: it may be both.*

But a change has taken place among us in regard to the genealogist: "the wheel is come full circle." What was diffidently essayed years since by a few, has now become the pursuit of many; so that even a town-history is not considered complete, unless it embraces a list of the early settlers, with their descendants. The genealogist has cre-

* "In theoretical reasoning and in the eye of religion," says Sharon Turner, "the distinction of birth seems to be an unjust prejudice; . . . but the morality and merit of society is the product of very complicated and diversified motives, and is never so superabundant as to suffer uninjured the loss of any one of its incentives and supporters. The fame of an applauded ancestor has stimulated many to perform noble actions or to preserve an honorable character, and will continue so to operate while human nature exists. It creates a sentiment of honor, a dread of disgrace, a useful pride of name, which, though not universally efficient, will frequently check the vicious propensities of passion or selfishness, when reason or religion has exhorted in vain." — *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. ii. p. 233. Philadelphia edition, 1841.

ated a public opinion in favor of his pursuit. He has awakened the sentiment which exists in a latent form in almost every breast; and we are brought into closer sympathy with former generations, — no longer considering ourselves solitary, isolated beings, without looking before or after, but as links in a great chain running back through centuries, and to run down through coming centuries for all future time; and feeling, that, as we have derived qualities of head and heart from former generations through long periods of time and great diversities of persons, we are to transmit them, variously modified and combined, but still distinctive, to the remote future. Here is a great study, which we are beginning to comprehend, because we are beginning to think of it. It is not confined to any particular ranks or orders of people: it is finding its expression everywhere. The most republican person, nay, the veriest democrat, whether the politician who lives on popular smiles and sails on slimy seas, or the man in private walks and in every variety of social position, feels its influence, and yields to its suggestions. Genealogical investigations have nothing in common, no starting-point, with a rude and barbarous age: they are the natural and necessary growth and result of centuries of civilization and refinement. And what an incentive to good conduct, when the true descendant can run his eye back over the serried hosts, his kindred who have preceded him, and be able to delineate virtues and gather a harvest of good examples for imitation! Then he may vow, that by no word or deed, by no base thought, shall that inheritance become corrupt in his own person, or among those who are under his control.

The further we recede from our great ancestral period, increasing numbers of persons will be found busily engaged in earnest endeavor to gather up the links in their respective lines of descent, in order to connect themselves in one continuous chain reaching back to the founders of their Cisatlantic house, whether humble or illustrious.

The first settlement of these shores is indissolubly con-

nected with a critical period in the world's history and the narrative of human liberty. This is now fully recognized. Indeed, had failure, instead of success, marked the issue of the struggle then beginning in England, the condition of the great Anglo-Saxon family might now resemble that of Continental Europe. It is right, then, to mark the era of the first settlement as the true point of departure and inquiry, — a point honorable in itself; equally so, to say the least, with the Norman invasion of England in the uncertain lights of the eleventh century, when robbery and violence, with the sword for their instrument, achieved wealth, power, and station. England was sending out her choice seed, — men who showed their manhood in coming to the wilderness for their cause; who served God faithfully, and transmitted virtuous habits and a sound understanding to after-generations. With such an ancestry, no one, in whatever station in life, need fear to be discredited. He has a charter of family that becomes an abiding inheritance: he gains a vantage-ground, not boastingly, but gratefully; blessing God for his fathers in the flesh, and using their example as an incentive to his own onward and upward progress.

A new and strong inducement, one daily gaining in force, is found in the approaching change in the character of our population. We were homogeneous to an extent unusual, perhaps, in any other Colonies which have grown to great States. We are so no longer. The new and foreign element in our population has no sympathy with the Puritans, either historically, by kindred association, or religious training.

It is common, no doubt, to speak of this advent as, in many ways, a blessing: some statesmen have done so, and politicians have welcomed it. We are pointed to our railroads and other great works, and are triumphantly asked, How, without these people, should we have possessed these internal improvements? Certainly, it is true that material interests have been hastened to their results by this accession to our population. But this is a low and unworthy view of the subject: material interests are not the only or the

highest, and they must yield to weightier considerations. It becomes a grave matter, when, with the incoming from abroad, we witness an exodus of our own people, — the children of our own institutions, bone of our bones and flesh of our flesh, — whether material measures, which, with great success, have sometimes proved disastrous, may not be pursued at a cost beyond their value, by too large a sacrifice of the healthful element, the true and permanent in our government; whether much might not have been postponed to another day, and gradually be wrought out by our own labor and muscle; whether a high standard of common education, the dignity of the republican character, loyalty to law, and the true idea of American liberty, can be sustained, and the entire community be trained up to the assured conservatism of the earlier generations of the American State. We are still in the forming condition, and may hope that final good, and a sound, wholesome state of society, may be evolved from the many and diverse elements which now exist. Let the educated and worthy come, let the humble come, not as distinct communities and with Old-World theories and associations; but, as individuals forgetting all their old history and traditions, sinking their languages, let them begin and rapidly carry on the process of assimilation: thus apprehended dangers may yet prove groundless.

This, then, is the time, while the materials which are of easy access are abundant, and the social circle, with its influence, is still sustained as of old, for the descendants of the early settlers of New England to identify themselves in an unbroken line with their earliest American ancestors, not for vain show, but for encouragement, example, and incentive to good conduct.

I make no apology for the length of this work. Those of the lineage who regard the ancestral story, however inartificially it may have been constructed, will require no apology. It is for those chiefly that this labor has been undertaken. To the true believer, no fact, however humble, is without value; and, as time bears us further away from the subject of this sketch, every incident tending to constitute his life becomes invested with additional interest. If we cannot gather individual traits, to any extent, across the gulf of many generations, it is still pleasant to make a vigorous effort, and to strive for success. The largest array of facts is the best means of approaching the person, by carrying us back to his own age, and establishing the extent of public service and the measure of individual worth.

Thus, while I have been collecting from various quarters whatever might serve to illustrate the life of Major Willard, and have considered the mass of testimony which shows how large a place he filled, in his own time, in the estimation of the wise and good, I have felt as if every step in my progress brought me nearer in sympathy with the venerated dead, and established an intimacy of relation partaking of the character of personal affection. Widely separated in time, the influence of kindred remains, — an influence extending, indeed, through a constantly lengthening chain, but with all its links unbroken, and ever ringing to the touch of the filial hand.

No undertaking of this kind is to be despised; for we are concerned with men who ventured their lives and fortunes on the cast, and contributed their part towards rearing the infant Commonwealth amidst toil, danger, and suffering ending only with death. To their memory we owe a debt of gratitude which we may imperfectly estimate; while to comprehend it in its full extent is scarcely given to the deepest and most affectionate reflection of a loving nature. Theirs were the effort and suffering; ours, the perfect fruition. The best heritage is that which is derived from the men who preserved the sacred spirit of liberty amid perils

and persecutions — their abiding companions — in a period of British history before constitutional rights were clearly defined and firmly established. It ill becomes those who are of the harvest from the seed early planted, and who now rejoice in the ripe fruit, in the clear sunshine of this fair Commonwealth, to think lightly of humble beginnings, or to shut their eyes to the excellences, while they magnify the faults, of those from whom they sprang.

Let a voice from the past sound in our ears, and summon us anew to our duty, — that duty which we cannot neglect; which terminates not in a consideration for what begins and ends in self, but connects us with the past and the future equally with the present, and brings us into relation with all time in the great circle of humanity.

While "Spiritualism" has its advocates and victims, while speculations upon the unseen are rife, and the heart sighs for a revelation of the future, we may be permitted to inquire of the past, and listen to its teachings. We would think of our ancestor, not as a disembodied spirit dwelling in distant spheres, but as still near to his countless descendants with the voice of warning and instruction, and thus speaking, not in audible language addressed to the ear, but in tones that come to the meditative soul with even more stirring utterance. Listen to his words: —

"My children, — for so I call you, though belonging to different generations, — listen to my words of instruction, warning, and advice. It is my privilege and my duty to hold converse with you, as I have been constituted by our heavenly Father the founder of a numerous race on these Western shores. Born before the settlement of Jamestown and Plymouth, and of an age to remember the voyage of the 'Mayflower,' — the news whereof was brought even to my retired native village of Horsmonden, — I was permitted to live through an important epoch, when great principles were in discussion, the settlement of which would affect future generations in the establishment

of justice and right, or the perpetuation of wrong under the forms of law.

"The death of my mother, of blessed memory, when I was too young to know the extent of my loss, and that of a father in my early youth, not, indeed, before the remembered words of counsel and affection, but when I needed his protection and guidance, left me exposed to the temptations which invade the humble village as well as the larger resorts of men. But, though assailed, through God's mercy I was saved from falling; and, trusting in Him whom I had been in youth taught to reverence, I was brought safely through.

"My early training was in the church of England; and in the ancient parish church I received, in my infancy, the waters of baptism by the hands of the rector, Rev. Edward Alchine, from whose instructions and catechetical teachings, when I came of an age to understand them, I trust that I received spiritual benefit. But my religious preferences were in another direction, and I yielded to their persuasions. I well remember, even with the dawn of reason and reflection, the great controversy which was then beginning to rage with unwonted heat, even to the dividing of families.

"I had none to aid me in shaping my future course; and though I was prospered in business and very happy with the wife of my choice, and might have borne my part in my native village, the feeling increased, that this was not my proper sphere. Neighbors and friends, the men of Kent in various quarters, were preparing to remove to the New World, where success had attended the Plymouth settlers, and the larger and more imposing colony composed of those who lined the shores of this beautiful bay. I was in sympathy with these Christians, while still loving the church from which I had separated, and the 'tender milk' drawn from her breasts.

"I saw the day approaching when sharp trials would begin, and I should be excluded from the few religious privileges which remained for those who already were stig-

matized as schismatics. I determined to join those who were seeking a home in the wilderness, where we might worship God in a way which we thought was of his appointment. But how was this to be accomplished with a young family? Measures of detention, which had now well-nigh reached their culminating point, were daily becoming more stringent, requiring certificates of uniformity, and oaths of allegiance and supremacy, of all who purposed embarking for the New World. Vessels were carefully watched; and none could leave the realm, and take passage for New England, without special permission, and after having submitted to the various orders exacted by authority. I closed up my business at Horsmonden, made my preparations diligently and silently in connection with a married sister and her husband, and, bidding an affectionate adieu to those of the family left behind, reached the coast in safety, where we found a boat in readiness to take us to the vessel which was to bear us to our coveted retreat.

"I cannot describe to you my sensations on forsaking my native land. Scarce ever beyond the bounds of my little village, I was leaving home, with all its fond ancestral associations, never to return. My emotions, on taking the last view of dear Old England, were such as almost to overpower me. All of love, all of memory, returned; and I felt for the moment a doubt, whether I was in the way of duty in my removal. But it was only for a moment. When the last speck of the Kentish shore disappeared below the horizon, I girded myself to the undertaking; cast no more lingering looks behind, but looked forward over the wide waste of waters towards my destined abode; addressed myself to all that belonged to its duties and obligations; and never at any one moment afterwards, until the day that God called me hence from earthly scenes, did I regret the resolution I had taken. We were favored in our passage, and our little fleet reached these shores in the beautiful noontide of May, when all nature was bursting into life, as if to give

us a glad and smiling welcome to the new home of our pilgrimage.

"I look around me; but all is changed that is under the power or control of man. In the populous towns and cities which have sprung up, I cannot recognize the little hamlets, once my familiar acquaintance. Even my ancient dwelling-places — peaceful and humble abodes in Cambridge, Concord, Lancaster, and Groton — can no longer be traced or divined, except by those marks which God himself has established in the flowing waters of the Charles, the Assabet, and the Nashaway. Strange sights and sounds salute my senses; mysterious agencies of motion on land and water are all around me; and I almost feel as if man was in communion with forbidden spirits.

"Descendants, — Here I planted my stakes; here I made my home, nor wished to return to the scenes of my youth. My venture was here in new and untried existence, and I loved it. God favored me with health, friends, and beloved children; while, by his will and the love of the brethren, I trust I was helpful to the Commonwealth, at least in some humble measure, — in military, legislative, and judicial service, — through a long period, until my death. For all that I was enabled to do I was truly grateful, while conscious of my shortcomings, and lamenting that my success did not equal my intentions.

"It was my earnest wish to train up my children to walk in the paths of virtue and usefulness, and to educate them in human learning according to their capacities, that they might serve their generation with fidelity. Herein I was aided and blessed in the schools, open to all, which our honored magistrates and deputies caused to be established, that 'learning might not be buried in the grave of our fathers, in the church and commonwealth;' and by the teachings and instructions of worthy Mr. Bulkeley and Mr. Rowlandson. By their regular attendance on public worship, by observing the ordinances, by worship in the family, my sons and daughters were in the sure way of preparation

for good service in life, and of becoming examples to their own children.

"And now, if, in the day of small things, when we were few in number and weak in power, surrounded by the savage, with none under God to help us save our own right arm, I was of any service to church or commonwealth, I desire first of all to thank God, and to give him the praise. I will not offer myself as an example for imitation, or commend myself for having done aught, but only say that I have endeavored.

"Consider what God has done for you. The wilderness and the solitary place have been made glad for you; and the desert rejoices, and blossoms as the rose, as in the days of Isaiah for the chosen people. Indeed, the little one has become a thousand; and the small beginnings which I witnessed have widened out to a powerful Commonwealth, filled with comforts, privileges, and blessings, countless in number, and leaving little to be imagined or desired. Think not that your own right hand has wrought out this your happy condition; but give thanks to Him to whom they belong, and believe that never was a people more highly favored.

"You would honor my memory, and are very free in expressing veneration: but if you would honor me aright, if you feel the veneration you express, show it by your deeds; by reverence of that which is higher and holier; by doing all your duty actively and earnestly in your generation; by adhering to the old paths of justice, faithfulness, and holy trust; by sincerity in belief, abandoning all Antinomian heresies as you would the other extreme of dead formalism; by being bold for the right, modestly and firmly maintaining your opinions, whether called to public station or in the more private walks; following no man and no cause because of popularity, shunning no man and no cause you believe to be right because of unpopularity or reproach; but avoiding the parasite and self-seeker, and standing bravely by your own convictions. Thus did my son, even

Samuel, in the time of his pilgrimage, when he set himself in opposition to the greatest delusion that ever visited this land, subjecting himself to great trial in the coldness of friends, and the harsh judgment of an entire community; but, unmoved in his purpose, sustained by his conscientious view of the right, calmly awaited that revolution in sentiment which at once was the earnest and reward of his long and patient suffering.

"Farewell!"

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——— [2] Samuel,[2] who m. Abigail Sherman and Eunice Tyng, children of; viz., [2] Abigail,[3] [2] Samuel,[3] [2] Mary,[3] [2] John,[3] [2] Elizabeth,[3] [2] Simon,[3] [2] Edward,[3] [2] Josiah,[3] [2] Eunice,[3] [2] Richard,[3] [2] William,[3] [2] Margaret,[3] [2] Edward,[3] [2] Hannah,[3] [2] Sarah,[3] [2] Eunice,[3] [2] Sarah,[3] [2] Richard,[3] and two others who died in infancy, 357, 366–371.
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——— [3] Simon,[2] who m. Martha Jacob and Priscilla Buttolph, children of, all by the first marriage; viz., [3] Jacob,[3] [3] Josiah,[3] [3] Richard,[3] [3] Simon,[3] [3] Martha,[3] 358, 371, 372.

Willard, [4] Henry,[2] who m. Mary Lakin and Dorcas Cutler, children of; viz., [4] Henry,[3] [4] Simon,[3] [4] John,[3] [4] Hezekiah,[3] [4] Joseph,[3] [4] Samuel,[3] [4] James,[3] [4] Josiah,[3] [4] Jonathan,[3] [4] Mary,[3] [4] Sarah,[3] [4] Abigail,[3] [4] Susanna,[3] [4] Tabitha,[3] 359, 372–375.

——— [5] John,[2] who m. Mary Hayward, children of; viz., [5] David,[3] [5] Jonathan,[3] [5] Simon,[3] [5] Mercy,[3] 359, 376, 377.

——— [6] Daniel,[2] who m. Hannah Cutler and Mary Mills, children of; viz., [6] Daniel,[3] [6] Benjamin,[3] [6] Edward,[3] [6] George,[3] [6] Anna,[3] [6] Anna,[3] [6] Elizabeth,[3] [6] Mary,[3] [6] Susanna,[3] [6] William,[3] [6] Sarah,[3] [6] Mehitable,[3] [6] Sarah,[3] 359, 377–382.

——— [7] Joseph,[2] who m. ——, children of; viz., [7] John,[3] [7] Joseph,[3] 359, 382, 383.

——— [8] Benjamin,[2] who m. Sarah Lakin, children of; viz., [8] Joseph,[3] [8] Simeon,[3] [8] Sarah,[3] [8] Margaret,[3] [8] Esther,[3] [8] Hannah,[3] 360, 383, 384.

——— [9] Jonathan,[2] who m. Mary Browne, children of; viz., [9] Jonathan,[3] [9] Mary,[3] [9] Hannah,[3] [9] Hepzibah,[3] 361, 384, 385.

——— Mary,[2] who m. Joshua Edmunds, and had a son, Samuel [3] Edmunds, 356, 385.

——— Elizabeth,[2] died early, 356, 386.

——— Elizabeth,[2] who m. Robert Blood, children of; viz., Mary,[3] Elizabeth,[3] Sarah,[3] Robert,[3] Simon,[3] Josiah,[3] John,[3] Ellen,[3] Samuel,[3] James,[3] Ebenezer,[3] Jonathan,[3] Abigail,[3] 356, 386.

——— Dorothy,[2] died early, 356, 386.

——— Sarah,[2] who m. Nathaniel Howard, children of; viz., Sarah,[3] Nathaniel,[3] Mary,[3] 357, 386, 387.

——— Abovehope,[2] died unmarried. 357, 387.

——— Mary,[2] the younger of that name, who m. Cyprian Stevens, children of; viz., Mary,[3] Simon,[3] Dorothy,[3] Elizabeth,[3] Joseph,[3] 358, 387–389.

Willard, Hannah,[2] who m. Captain Thomas Brintnall, children of; viz., Phineas,[3] Parnel,[3] Paul,[3] Nathaniel,[3] Jerusha,[3] Dorothy,[3] Susanna,[3] William,[3] Thomas,[3] 360, 389–391.

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Willard, [1] Samuel,[3] who m. Sarah Clark, children of; viz., [1] Samuel,[4] [1] Joseph,[4] 366, 392–394.

[1] Simon,[3] who m. Mary Gilbert, children of; viz., [1] Josiah,[4] [1] John,[4] [1] Benjamin,[4] [1] Simon,[4] [1] Mary,[4] [1] Mary,[4] [1] Hannah,[4] [1] Ephraim,[4] [1] Daniel,[4] 366, 394, 395.

[1] Thomas,[3] who m. Abigail Bradley, children of; viz., [1] Josiah,[4] [1] Daniel,[4] [1] Jared,[4] [1] Nathan,[4] [1] Hannah,[4] [1] Prudence,[4] [1] Dorothy,[4] [1] Jerusha,[4] 366, 395, 396.

——— [2] John,[3] who m. Frances Sherburne, children of; viz., [2] Samuel,[4] [2] William,[4] [2] Nancy,[4] [2] Frances,[4] 367, 396–400.

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[2] Simon,[3] who m. Widow Elizabeth Walley, children of; viz., [2] Samuel [4] and [2] Abigail [4] (twins), [2] Katherine,[4] [2] George,[4] 368, 400.

[2] Josiah,[3] who m. Katherine Allen and Hannah Clarke, children of; viz., [2] Katherine,[4] [2] William,[4] [2] William,[4] [2] Daniel,[4] [2] George,[4] [2] Katherine,[4] [2] Katherine,[4] [2] Hannah,[4] [2] Josiah,[4] [2] Samuel,[4] 368, 400–403.

——— [3] Jacob,[3] who m. Sarah Flint, children of; viz., [3] Sarah,[4] [3] Simon,[4] [3] Samuel,[4] [3] Jacob,[4] [3] Elizabeth,[4] [3] Abigail,[4] 372, 403, 404.

[3] Josiah,[3] who m. Jane Jacob and Susanna Parkman, children of, by the first marriage; viz., [3] Josiah,[4] [3] Scarlett,[4] [3] Jane,[4] [3] Mary,[4] [3] Margaret,[4] [3] John,[4] [3] James,[4], 372, 404, 405.

[3] Richard,[3] who m. Hannah Butman, children of; viz., [3] Hannah,[4] [3] Martha,[4] [3] Richard,[4] [3] George,[4] [3] William [4] and [3] Mehitable [4] (twins), 372, 405.

——— [4] Henry,[3] who m. Abigail Temple and Sarah Nutting, children of; viz., [4] Abraham,[4] [4] Henry,[4] [4] Simon,[4] [4] James,[4] [4] William,[4] [4] Daniel,[4] [4] Benjamin,[4] [4] Mary,[4] [4] Abigail,[4] [4] Sarah,[4] [4] Lydia,[4] [4] Ruth,[4] 373, 405–407.

Willard, 4 Simon,3 who m. Mary Whitcomb, children of; viz., 4 Aaron,4 4 Moses,4 4 Eunice,4 4 Alice,4 4 Miriam,4 373, 407–409.
4 John,3 who m. Anne Hill, granddaughter of Major Simon Willard, only child of: 4 John,4 373, 409, 410.
4 Hezekiah,3 who m. Anna Wilder, children of; viz., 4 Thomas,4 4 Phineas,4 4 Hezekiah,4 4 Ephraim,4 4 Anna,4 4 Mary,4 4 Elizabeth,4 373, 410, 411.
4 Joseph,3 who m. Elizabeth Tarbell, children of; viz., 4 William,4 4 Tarbell,4 4 Lemuel,4 4 Joseph,4 4 Charles,4 4 Sarah,4 4 Elizabeth,4 4 Sybil,4 4 Amee,4 373, 411–413.
4 Samuel,3 who m. Elizabeth Phelps, children of; viz., 4 Samuel,4 4 Abijah,4 4 Nahum,4 4 Abijah,4 4 Levi,4 4 Joshua,4 4 Abel,4 374, 413–421.
4 James,3 who m. Hannah Houghton, children of; viz., 4 Isaac,4 4 Asa,4 4 Hannah,4 4 Abigail,4 4 Experience,4 4 Susanna,4 374, 421, 422.
4 Josiah,3 who m. Hannah Wilder, children of; viz., 4 Josiah,4 4 Nathan,4 4 Oliver,4 4 Sampson,4 4 Wilder,4 4 Abigail,4 4 Susanna,4 4 Lois,4 4 Prudence,4 374, 422–428.
4 Jonathan,3 who m. Keziah White, children of; viz., 4 Jonathan,4 4 Adonijah,4 4 Barzillai,4 4 Caleb,4 4 Keziah,4 4 Mary,4 4 Amity,4 4 Unity,4 4 Bethulah,4 4 Adonijah,4 375, 428–430.

——— 5 Jonathan,3 — twice married, but the surnames of his wives not ascertained, — children of; viz., 5 Jonathan,4 5 John,4 5 Josiah,4 5 David,4 5 Daniel,4 5 Samuel,4 5 Mary,4 5 Susanna,4 5 Mercy,4 5 Catherine,4 376, 430, 431.
5 Simon,3 who m. Widow Zeruiah Brewer, children of; viz., 5 Dubartus,4 5 Lewis,4 5 Simon,4 5 Rufus,4 5 Anna,4 5 Maria,4 5 Frederic,4 5 John,4 376, 431–433.

——— 6 Daniel,3 who m. Abigail Mather and Ann Thomas, children of; viz., 6 Mary,4 6 Katherine,4 6 Abigail,4 6 Resign,4 6 Ann,4 377, 433.
6 Edward,3 who m. Mary Tool and Elizabeth Gibson, children of; viz., 6 Daniel,4 6 Mary 4 (nothing known as to these children), 378.

——— 7 Joseph,3
——— 7 John,3 } of London, whether married, and had issue, has not been ascertained, 382, 383, 433.

Willard, 8 Joseph,3 who m. Martha Clarke, children of; viz., 8 Benjamin,4 8 Joseph,4 8 Isaac,4 8 Josiah,4 8 Daniel,4 8 Simon,4 8 Solomon,4 8 Sarah,4 8 Martha,4 8 Hannah,4 8 Phœbe,4 8 Mary,4 383, 433–436.
8 Simeon,3 who m. Phœbe Newton, children of; viz., 8 Persis,4 8 Hepzibah 4 (or 8 Hepzibeth 4), 8 Esther,4 8 Phœbe,4 8 Sarah,4 8 Sybil,4 8 Elizabeth,4 8 Abner,4 8 Caroline,4 384, 436.

——— 9 Jonathan,3 who m. Elizabeth Whitney and Mary Cook, children of; viz., 9 Mary,4 9 Abigail,4 9 Daniel,4 9 Jonathan 4 and 9 John 4 (twins), *semble*, 9 Josiah,4 9 Benjamin,4 9 William 4 and 9 Samuel 4 (twins), 9 Joseph,4 9 Elizabeth,4 9 James,4 9 Susanna,4 384, 436–440.

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——— 4 Moses,4 Lieutenant, killed by the Indians, 408, 409. 4 Moses,5 his son, wounded, 408, 409.
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ERRATA.

Pages 44, 50, 76, for "Gondhurst" read "Goudhurst."
Page 54, for "Raynes" read "Rayner."
„ 125, second line from top, for "his children" read "Richard Willard's children."
„ 387, seventh line from bottom, for "Simon" read "Simon.[3]"
„ 394, between the sixth and seventh lines from the top, insert "121. [1] Josiah,[3] died unmarried."
„ 400, twenty-first line from the top, for "Katherine" read "[2] Katherine.[4]"
„ 404, twelfth line from the bottom, for "Jacobs" read "Jacob."
„ 405, fifteenth line from the top, for "Butnam" read "Butman."

NOTE.

THE following order of the Council would be in place on page 184. It was kindly furnished me by Mr. David Pulsifer, but not in season for its appropriate insertion.

"Att A Councill Called by the Gouernor & Dep^{t} Gouno^{r} & Assembled together the 24th of Nouember 1663.

present
J^{o} Endecott Gou^{r}
Rich Bellingham Dep^{t} Gou^{r}
ffrancis Willoughby
Daniel Gookin
Symon Willard
Rich. Russell
Tho Danforth
Majo^{r} Eleaz^{r} Lusher.

"Whereas this Councill is Informed by Majo^{r} Willard that the Mohauks are lately come downe & slaine Seuerall of the confederate Indians, who are in confœderacy w^{t}h vs. Jt is Ordered that Majo^{r} Willard be & hereby is betrusted wth the furnishing of ye sajd confederate Jndians w^{t}h powde^{r} & shott proportionable not exceeding three barrells. E. R. S."

JUN 29 1897